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THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, JULY 15, 1850.

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THE MOTHER-IN-LAW.

A STORY OF THE ISLAND ESTATE.

BY MRS. EMMA D. E. SOUTHWORTH.

BOOK THIRD.

[CONCLUDED.]

VII.

THE SWOOP OF THE GER-FALCON.

> "An eagle and a serpent wreathed in fight!"
> *Shelley.*

In Washington city are several elegant mansions, upon the building, adorning, and furnishing of which the owners have spent fortunes, and from which they derive comfortable revenues, by letting them to foreign ministers, members of the Cabinet, Senators, or other wealthy men, whose temporary sojourn with their families in the Metropolis make such an accommodation desirable. One of these mansions had lately been vacated by the Spanish minister, recalled to Madrid. Mrs. Armstrong established herself in this dwelling for the season of her sojourn in Washington. Here she commenced the splendid preparations for the marriage of her daughter. The first week was spent in ordering an elegant trousseau for the bride, and passed among jewellers, dry-goods merchants, milliners, and mantua-makers; the second week, in superintending the work of the upholsterers, who were engaged in fitting up the rooms in festive style. The third and last week before the marriage was employed in issuing cards of invitation to the wedding. During all these three weeks the gates of Mrs. Armstrong's city residence were besieged with private carriages or hackney coaches, and the gold basket on her centre table laden with the cards of distinguished visiters who had called to pay their respects to the wealthy widow. Mrs. Armstrong had also renewed her acquaintance, and Louise her intimacy, with the amiable and dignified Mrs. M——, the lady of the President.

Louise!—crushed with sorrow, bewildered, lost in the moral maze in which she found herself—Louise faded day by day. She must have taken to her bed, but that her waning strength was sustained by powerful tonics and stimulants—and still her paleness, her emaciation, was attributed to mere physical delicacy.

And young Frobisher!—if there was anything he admired with enthusiasm, it was fine physical strength and beauty—this had been the strong attraction that had drawn him to Gertrude; if there was anything he pitied with all his heart, it was physical delicacy. Thus as he had loved Gertrude from admiration, he now loved Louise from pity.

Still, it must be confessed that of late the memory of the glorious mountain girl haunted him like some grand fantastic dream. And he sometimes sent a sigh floating over the hills and forests up into the far mountains of Virginia. I have had little time to analyze the nature of young Frobisher—to show the struggle in his heart between admiration of the beautiful amazon, and dread of introducing such a savage into the refined circles of English gentility. Young Frobisher lacked combativeness and firmness. With the most elevated aspiration, he wanted decision of character, strength of will, and frequently needed the force of external circumstances, or the influence of another stronger will to impel him in this course or in that. Thus he had acquiesced in Gertrude's negative with very little resistance. Thus he had yielded to the attraction of his sympathies, and the magnetism of the strong and decided wills by which he was surrounded when he offered his hand to Louise. This subtile influence, this spiritual magnetism, still impelled him in a course which he fancied he was pursuing of his own free will.

Some women want a master, and some men need a mistress. Frobisher was one of the latter.

The day before the wedding came. Louise was very feeble. Frobisher regarded her with visible anxiety. Mrs. Armstrong sought to reassure him.

"Once out of this country," said she, "where she has suffered so much, her health will improve."

And she lectured Louise in private, and administered quinine.

Night came—the night before the wedding. Louise lay on her bed, with her hands clasped over her brow and eyes—eyes that seldom now closed in slumber.

"I shall die. I feel that this is the last night of my life, unless a miracle be wrought to save me! I cannot save myself! I am so feeble—I am a very slave. When I was younger, happier, and stronger, then I suffered myself to be blinded by a moral illusion! Now, that the scales have fallen from my eyes; now that I see how wrong—oh, my God! how deplorably wrong, I have been, it is too late! Louis is lost to me, and, worn out by slavery and suffering, I have no power to resist this marriage—this execution! I shall die! I shall die there before them all, and then Louis will know how I loved! and mother will know how she erred!"

Thus mourned the broken spirit, in its still despair. Sometimes wild impulses would traverse her brain, like forked lightning across a cloudy sky—

"Louis lives! he lives! While there is life there is hope! What hinders me from flying to him now? Because he is not my husband? He *is* my husband! he is! though a million of Legislatures in a thousand halls should have pronounced our divorcement! What hinders me now from flying to him; and, if I die, die on his bosom—if he casts me off—*at his feet!*"

She started up with the impulse, but her head reeled, her limbs failed, and she sunk back upon the bed.

"In vain! in vain! I have no longer the power to execute even my own weak purposes! The hand of Death is suspended over me—ere I be the bride of that man it will fall on me! *Louis only* can save me now! I feel that God has deputed the power of life and death into the hands of Louis! Louis the forsaken! Louis the betrayed! Oh! that Louis would come and save!"

Thus all night the sick heart mourned. Thus all night the wild brain toiled; and morning dawned, and the sun arose, and found the bride feverish, excited, yet pale and faint.

Night came again—the wedding night. The house was one blaze of illumination. The grounds around it a forest of carriages. The splendid saloons were filled with a brilliant company. Mrs. Armstrong herself never looked so imperial as on this night, when her daughter was to be wedded to an Earl. In truth, Mrs. Armstrong was a very queen-like woman, and stood among her guests as their sovereign, and her imperious eye, lighted with the triumph of pride, shone over the distinguished assembly with an almost youthful brilliancy! Members of the House of Representatives, Senators, members of the Cabinet with their families, foreign Ministers with their suites, were present. The President himself honored the occasion with his presence. Yet the centre of all eyes was Mrs. Armstrong herself, in her matronly grace and majestic beauty!

The arrival of the Rt. Rev. Bishop H——, in his carriage and canonical robes, caused a sensation. The arrival of the Bishop was soon followed by the entrance of the bridal party—a magnificent spectacle!

I wish I could daguerreotype the following scene, and place it in form and color, vividly before you. I will try.

The wall of the vast saloon was hung with yellow damask, and formed a warm back ground to the picture. Three immense chandeliers hung from the ceiling. The brilliant company that filled this room had fallen back on all sides, leaving a space in the centre of the saloon, immediately under the blaze of the central chandelier. In this broad light, stood the Bishop in his canonical robes. On his right hand, at the distance of a few yards, stood Mrs. Armstrong, her majestic form arrayed in a royal purple velvet, her black hair arranged in massive braids, and adorned with a circlet of diamonds and a tuft of white ostrich plumes. She leaned upon the arm of General ———, Commander-in-Chief of the American army, in his gorgeous uniform. Upon the left of the Bishop stood the British Minister and his suite in their court dresses. The bridal party advanced and arranged itself in a semicircle before this group. The bride was arrayed in a rich white satin, and over that an open robe of gauze, with a deep border of embroidered silver flowers. Her head, her neck, her arms, her stomacher, were literally blazing with diamonds. The *woman* was nearly invisible in the sun-like splendor. To her left ran a line of six young bridesmaids, with their white silk dresses and wreaths of white roses. By her side stood the bridegroom, and on his right a line of six young groomsmen. They were dressed in that elegant gentlemen's wedding costume that needs so little description, viz: the fine blue dress coat, the white satin vest, and kid gloves.

The full light of the chandelier blazed down upon this gorgeous spectacle. It was the focus of the eyes of all that vast company. Some said that the fine aristocratic features of the bride groom were very pale, like those of a man going to his doom—but that might have been from the contrast of the black silky curls and whiskers that encircled his clear white face. Others said that the bride trembled, and rested languidly upon the arm of her first bridesmaid.

The Bishop opened his book.

A dead silence fell upon the crowd. Their eyes were rivetted upon the group. Many noticed the fearful paleness of the bride's face, and saw her lean heavily upon the arm of the bridegroom. The Bishop, in a deep and earnest voice, thus commenced the impressive marriage ceremony:

"Dearly beloved, we are gathered together here in the sight of God, and in the face of this company, to join together this man and this woman in holy matrimony, which is commended by St. Paul to be honorable among all men, and therefore is not by any to be entered into unadvisedly or lightly; but reverently, discreetly, advisedly, soberly, and in the fear of God. Into this holy state these two people come now to be joined. If any man can show just cause why they may not lawfully be joined together, let him now speak, or else hereafter forever hold his peace."

"I CAN!" shouted a clear, high, imperious voice, and the doors flew open, and Gertrude Lion burst "a beautiful embodied storm," among them. She too, in festal garments; a shining dark blue satin studded with glittering sapphires, and her magnificent hair rolling a golden glory to her feet. Her commanding stature—her glowing color—her blazing eyes—the glory of her imperious brow, might have made the guilty in that crowd deem that an avenging angel stood among them!

Struck statue-still, less by the interruption than by the splendidly beautiful amazon that made it, the assembled company was held in a spell of silence while they gazed at her!

There she stood in her sublime beauty, radiating a cold splendor, like a sun-struck iceberg!

Only one instant was the crowd held in that spell of wonder-stricken silence, and then a hum of many voices rolled through the crowd, as they exclaimed or inquired of one another, "Who is this?" "What does this mean?" "Ha!" "What!" "How?" "Who is she?"

"SILENCE EVERY ONE OF YOU!" thundered the amazon, bringing the loaded end of her riding-whip down upon the table with a resounding ring!

"Who is this woman," asked the Bishop? in low whisper, of Mrs. Armstrong.

"Oh, a lunatic! a mad woman of the mountains! Arrest her!"

"HOLD YOUR TONGUE, MRS. ARMSTRONG!" shouted the giantess, raising the end of her riding-whip, and making a step towards her, "I am GERTRUDE LION! and you know me; and so does James Frobisher, Earl of Clonmachnois!" said she, fixing her eyes on the bridegroom.

"James Frobisher, Earl of Clonmachnois," was standing there, giving his whole attention to the half-fainting bride.

"Leave that man! come to me, Louise!" said Gertrude, in a voice full of commanding tenderness, opening her arms and holding them out to the poor bride, who with an instinctive bound cleared the circle, and fell upon the broad and sheltering breast of the amazon!

"There, there, there, there, be a good girl," dove-like cooed the Falcon, gently caressing her.

"It shall not be married if it does not want to! Its Gertrude won't suffer it! Why did it not write to its Gertrude! There! there! there! there! It shall go home to its Louis! It's Gertrude will carry it!" said she, stroking down the bride's hair, and pressing her fondly to her bosom.

"Young lady," began the Bishop, "will you please to"——

"SHUT UP," snapped the giantess, and then gave her attention to her charge. "There! there! don't weep, Louise, or *I* shall."

"Madam! the assembled company are amazed, confused, at your singular conduct. In their name I demand the meaning of this! Upon what pretence you have arrested this marriage?" asked the Bishop, advancing and standing before her in all the venerableness of his age and office. "I insist instantly upon hearing from your lips from what cause and to what end you have arrested this marriage!"

The amazon raised her imperious brow, and looking him steadily in the eyes, answered, "*First*, because I want Jamie for myself; *second*, because the would-be bride is the wife of another man!"

"How! What!" exclaimed the Bishop.

A thrill of exclamatory astonishment ran through the crowd.

"Madam, you should be very sure of what you advance!" exclaimed the Bishop with solemnity.

"Ask the bride herself! Louise! answer, I command you! Are you the wife of Louis Stuart-Gordon or not?"

"Oh I *am!* I *am!* Indeed I *am*, the wife of Louis Stuart-Gordon!

"You hear her!" said Gertrude, triumphantly.

"She is mad! mad, I say!" exclaimed Mrs. Armstrong, striding forward. "Gentlemen, will *none* of you arrest this mad woman?"

Gertrude threw a glance of mingled triumph and defiance over the astounded crowd. Her eye lighted in its roving upon a new comer. Louis Stuart-Gordon, pale, travel-stained, and dusty, stood among them.

"Take her, Louis!" exclaimed she, tossing her charge into his arms. "Take her, Louis, as my free gift, and swear by the name of Gertrude Lion, henceforth and forevermore, amen! Take her and bear her hence, for I have the Devil's own work to do now!"

"An avenging angel's, rather!" replied Louis, receiving the fainting form of Louise in his arms. "An avenging angel's, rather!"

"It amounts to about the same thing," replied Gertrude.

And terrible was the brow that the Ger-Falcon now turned towards the assembled company.

"Arrest her! she is mad!" exclaimed Mrs. Armstrong, terror-stricken by the appalling look of the amazon.

Gertrude raised one hand up, as though appealing to Heaven.

"Hear me, all who are gathered in this house! I denounce Hortense Armstrong as the murderer of Genevieve, the first wife of Dr. Armstrong! I denounce her as having abandoned the eldest child of her husband, and as having concealed and suppressed the will by which that child was acknowledged and constituted the heiress of the half of the Mont Crystal estate! I denounce her as having conspired against the liberty of that child, in having procured her to be sold as a slave! And I appeal to Heaven to confute or corroborate my testimony!" and the avenger raised her hand reverently. * * * * * "BEHOLD! LOOK TO MRS. ARMSTRONG! She is falling!"

Mrs. Armstrong had suddenly dropped to the floor, her throat swollen, her face purple, her whole frame convulsed! She was lifted and borne from the room, and the company broke up in confusion.

* * * * * * * *

"A word with you, Gertrude the Destroyer!" commanded the Earl of Clonmachnois, beckoning the amazon to the recess of a bay window. Gertrude, still "vibrating with the thunder" she had spent, followed him, weak as a fainting elephant!

"Terrible denouncer! what have you done! Have you any proofs of what you charge this woman with?"

"Proofs! Every proof that will satisfy my own mind! None, perhaps, that would convict her in a court of justice!"

"Explain!"

"That little girl Zoe, the schoolmaster's adopted child, who was attached at the Lair as the property of Miss Somerville — that same Zoe was the eldest daughter of Dr. Hector Armstrong and Genevieve Somerville, his first wife by a secret marriage. This marriage was concealed to avert the anger of his father and the disinheritance of the son. Genevieve had no proofs of her marriage in her own possession, and the birth of her child was concealed by Harriet, her foster mother, to save the poor motherless girl from the terrible wrath of her father. This concealment was effected under circumstances inducing the suspicion that Zoe was the child of Anna and Harriet. By the machinations of Mrs. Armstrong, these circumstances were long afterwards used to procure the attachment of Zoe as a slave, in order that she might be got out of the way! This, however, in advance of my story. Soon after the birth of her child, Genevieve Somerville died suddenly, and under suspicion of *poison*. Soon after *that* event, Miss Blackistone married Dr. Armstrong. He promised Harriet, who was in his confidence, to acknowledge and take home his daughter—a promise that he deferred to perform from time to time—in fact, he stood in awe of his wife. Finally he died without having performed his promise. Just before he was taken to his bed, he saw Harriet, and told her that he had made a will acknowledging his marriage with Miss Genevieve Somerville, acknowledging her daughter Zoe, and constituting her heiress to half his estates. He said that he was resolved to reveal the whole matter to his wife. We believe that he *did*. But he died, and no mention was ever made of a will, and no step was taken by his widow to restore his eldest daughter to her rights. If there was a will, as we fully believe there was, Mrs. Armstrong probably destroyed it, with all that could have proved the parentage of Zoe."

"But the servant, then—Harriet! Why did *she* not disclose the secret?"

"Because it would have done every sort of harm, and no good. It would have covered an honest family with shame and confusion, without restoring Zoe to her rights."

"I do not see that."

"Do you not know, then, that, however honest and good they may be, the oath of a slave or other colored person will not pass in a slave State against a white person? The disclosure would have nearly killed the proud old Major Somerville, because he could not prove the marriage! Therefore Harriet determined to keep the secret, at least until the death of Major Somerville. You know the events that followed that death. Harriet and George were taken for debt; Zoe was attached. It was two months before Harriet and George were redeemed from prison. When they came out, the first thing they heard, with astonishment, was, that Zoe had been attached, but was now at liberty. The first thing they did then was to divulge to Miss Somerville and to Mrs. Stuart-Gordon and myself the secret of Zoe's birth. Then General Stuart-Gordon was admitted to the confidence, and he busied himself in investigating the affair. Being unable to find the clew to any other proofs but those of George and Harriet, it was deemed prudent to take no rash step in the matter, but to watch the course of circumstances, and in the mean time to be as kind as possible to Zoe. And I suppose, with their rascally prudence, they would have 'watched the course of circumstances' to this day, if I had not taken the matter up, and trusted in God for the result!"

"Gertrude the Avenger! But this other matter of Mrs. Louis Stuart-Gordon; explain that."

"Mrs. Armstrong, through her omnipotent influence over her daughter, separated her from her husband for no other reason than because General Stuart-Gordon married a second time! Afterwards she effected a divorce, and would have broken her heart, and Louis's heart, and drawn you into the marriage with a woman whom you know very well you only pitied, and did not love, Jamie, if it had not been for me!"

"Gertrude the Preserver! Gertrude, I never loved or admired you so much in all my life as this evening. Gertrude, I lay my coronet at your feet; will it please you to pick it up?"

"Your *what?*" exclaimed the simple amazon, looking curiously around her buskins.

"Gertrude, will you marry me?"

"Why, *certainly—of course*—what makes you ask such simple questions; and what do you suppose I came to Washington and took all this trouble for?"

Frobisher lifted her hand to his lips, but Gertrude clasped her strong arms about him, and gave him a great hug, freely and heartily as if he had been Zoe or Louise.

* * * * * * * *

In the mean time a scene of death was transpiring above stairs. In a thickly curtained room, upon a stately bed, lay the wreck of the haughty and majestic Hortense Blackistone Armstrong, still in her robes of state—a magnificent ruin! The Bishop, still in his canonicals, and another clergyman of the Episcopal faith, stood on one side of the bed; a physician and a surgeon on the other; Louis Stuart-Gordon stood supporting Louise at the foot of the bed. The Bishop, summoned to the house to perform a marriage ceremony, was now reading the solemn service of the dying.

Mrs. Armstrong had never spoken, or given the slightest sign of intelligence, from the moment of her fall. Her attack was apoplexy—a disease to which her full habit of body rendered her peculiarly liable. Terrible was the struggle between Death and the strong physical organization he had to conquer! All night long that swollen and purple face was contorted—all night long that strong body was convulsed. It was the dawn of day before that haughty face was composed—before that proud form was still in the rigidity of death—before that imperious spirit had "migrated to the great secret!"

Peace be with her! We do not know whether or not she were guilty of the worst crimes laid to her charge, since nothing but strong circumstantial evidence rested against her. We heard her accusation—we heard not her defence. She was struck speechless and powerless! Let us judge her leniently, or leave her with her God!

Immediately after the funeral, Louis and Louise Stuart-Gordon returned to the Isle of Rays. Though the papers of Mrs. Armstrong were diligently searched, no vestige of a will or of a marriage certificate, or of any other paper identifying Zoe, as the legitimate daughter of Dr. Armstrong, could be found. Her fate rested upon the generosity of Mr. and Mrs. Louis Stuart-Gordon, who at once acknowledged her as a sister, and settled one-half of the Mont Crystal property upon her.

Among the papers of the deceased, however, were found some letters, dated near Richmond, Virginia, and touching the health and well-being of a certain little child, Margaret, there at nurse. Simultaneously struck with a wild hope, Louis and Louise hastened to the village, and found there, with more joy than surprise, their beloved child Margaret, now a brave little girl of three years old.

It was clear that Mrs. Armstrong had practiced this deception to effect the divorce. It was not certainly known whether she ever meant to reproduce the heiress, but it was thought probable.

Six months from this time a double wedding was celebrated at the Island mansion, and the county papers the next day announced the two following marriages, one immediately under the other.

MARRIED,

On May 1st, at the Isle of Rays, the seat of his Excellency Governor Stuart-Gordon, by the Rev. Wilton Lindsley, pastor of the Church of the Transfiguration, the Right Honorable James Frobisher, Earl of Clonmachnois, to Gertrude, only daughter of the late Wolfgang Lion.

At the same time and place, Brutus Lion Esq., of the Lair, to Zoe, eldest daughter of the late Dr. Hector Armstrong, of Mont Crystal.

Brutus Lion and Zoe reside at Mont Crystal; Louis and Louise of course remain at the Isle of Rays, with Brighty and the General.

A year from this time, Wilton Lindsley and Susan Somerville were married; and in the attractive duties of wife, mother, and pastor's helpmate, for all the sorrows of her early youth, Susan Somerville found rich compensation.

SPEECH OF WILLIAM H. SEWARD,

ON

THE COMPROMISE BILL.

Delivered in the Senate of the United States, July 2, 1850.

MR. PRESIDENT: If an alien in our land should chance to enter here during these high debates, he would ask whether California was a stranger and an enemy; or an unbidden and unwelcome intruder; or a fugitive, powerless and portionless, and therefore importunate; or an oppressor and scourge of mankind, and therefore hateful and dangerous. We should be obliged to answer, No! California yielded to persuasion, rather than to conquest. She has denounced her lineage, language, and ancient loyalty. She has brought us to the banks of streams which flow over precious sands, and, at the base of mountains which yield massive gold, she delivers into our hand the key that unlocks the long-coveted treasures of the Eastern World. California refuses only to let us buy and sell each other within her domain, so rich in all the elements of legitimate commerce. She invites us to forego an unjust, injurious, and inglorious dominion over a caste, and to extend the sway of peace, of arts, and of freedom, over nations beyond the seas, still slumbering under the mingled reign of barbarian superstition and unalleviated despotism. The very head and front of her offending hath this extent.

The President of the United States recommends, nevertheless, that California shall be admitted *unconditionally*, while a Committee of the Senate insist *on conditions*.

I prefer the President's suggestion; but not merely because it is his, although I honor his patriotism and confide fully in his wisdom. Nor do I prefer his suggestion out of disrespect to the statesmen by whom it is opposed. My veneration for them has been abundantly manifested heretofore, and needs no display of protestations now. We are in a frame of things disjoint; and in the confusion resulting from a severance of parties and new conjunctions of statesmen, each of us is obliged to rely on the guidance of his own judgment and conscience.

I submit, sir, that the conditions are *unreasonable, injurious*, and *oppressive*, in regard to CALIFORNIA. So far as they are found in the bill before us, they are, 1st, the establishment of a Territorial Government in New Mexico, silent concerning slavery; 2d, the establishment of a like Government in Utah; 3d, a compromise of a border dispute between New Mexico and Texas. The garment of compromise, thus quilted of various fabrics with artistic skill, is ingeniously pieced out with collateral conditions in a report and two other bills concerning slavery in the District of Columbia, the recapture of fugitive slaves, and other national interests or pretensions of slavery.

It is not pretended that California needs aid from these conditions, nor that they can give it. California is taxed for superfluous power to draw the dependent measures into port, which otherwise would founder and be lost. This forced connection therefore hinders, and tends to defeat, the admission of California.

Why is California subjected to this embarrassment? Does she come without right? She has a treaty. Is that treaty denied or questioned? No; it is unanimously affirmed. Can California abide delay? No; her anomalous condition not merely appeals to our justice, but touches the very virtue of compassion within us. Why, then, should California be kept waiting, while we make a circuit throughout the entire orbit of slavery? California neither brought the States into confederation, nor constructed the Constitution. She neither planted slavery in the slave States, nor uprooted it in the free States. She is not found by the side of Texas invading New Mexico, nor allied with New Mexico in resisting Texas. She is guiltless equally of buying and of selling, of holding and emancipating, of reclaiming and of harboring slaves anywhere. She has neither vote nor speech here, nor elsewhere, where this angry strife can be composed. She has severed at a blow, and forever, the loose political connection—the only connection she ever had, with Utah and New Mexico. The slave States indeed insist on a right to colonize new Territories with a caste. But all agree that the community in any such Territory may establish a Constitution prohibiting caste. California, colonized, has done this already, and her maturity is not well questioned, although it has been as rapid and as bewildering as the presentation of a midsummer night's dream. There is, therefore, neither community nor connection, nor even congruity, between the admission of California and the conditions demanded. It is binding Eros to Anteros — confiding youth to querulous and wrangling age—the struggling hind to ravening hounds.

We were told long ago that California would save time by yielding to this most unjust combination. We have seen the error of that hope. We are making the overland journey of seven thousand miles between the pillars of Hercules, when we might have crossed the Straits of Gibraltar, on a smooth sea, in six hours.

We are told that a minority in another part of the Legislature might prevent the admission of California, and even bring the Government to a dead stand. But it must work in its own democratic and constitutional way, or must cease to work at all. No one nor more of the States can assume the responsibility of arresting the Government by faction. "*Optimis auspiciis ea geri quæ pro reipublicæ salute gerentur, quæ contram rempublicam ferrunter contra auspicia ferri.*"

I submit, now, that the conditions demanded are equally *unreasonable, injurious*, and *oppressive*, in regard to the other parties affected by the combination, viz: TEXAS, NEW MEXICO, UTAH, and the DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Each of these parties ought to be regarded as asking only a just award; and Congress is to be deemed ready to make a just one, and no other. Such an award can be made only by bestowing a distinct and separate consideration on each claim. The same principle of dialectic philosophy which forbids multifariousness of issues and confusion of parties in the administration of justice, condemns incongruous combinations in legislation.

The bill before us seems adapted to enable Senators to speak on one side, and to vote on the other; to comply with instructions, and to evade them; to vote for the line of 36° 30′, and to vote against it; to support the Wilmot Proviso, and yet to defeat its application to the only Territories open to its introduction. I solicit—if stronger language were courteous, I might demand—from the majority here a subdivision of the bill, to enable me to vote effectually for what I approve, without voting equally for what my own judgment, concurring with instructions, condemns; and thus to place myself, where I should invite all others to place themselves, under exact and full responsibility to the States and to the people.

While I leave the interests of Texas in the care of her honorable and excellent Senators, I must be allowed to think that their consent to this bill betrays a want of confidence in her claims or in the justice of Congress. A just claim ought not to need an unjust combination. Those who assume that Texas has a valid title to all of New Mexico east of the Rio Grande, as high as the 42d parallel, will necessarily regard that State as surrendering, for a pecuniary equivalent, an extensive region, effectually secured to slavery, to the equivocations of this compromise. Those, on the contrary, who regard the pretensions of Texas in New Mexico as groundless, will as certainly protest against the surrender of 77,000 square miles of soil, pregnant with liberty, to the hazards of this adjustment. Both of these parties, I think, must agree that the United States ought not to pay Texas the equivalent unless her title is good; and that if her title is good, then the United States have no constitutional power to buy her territory. If they may buy a part of Texas for purposes not defined in the Constitution, they may buy the whole. If they may buy the territory of a slave State to make it free, they may equally buy the soil of a free State to sterilize it with slavery. If it be replied that the title is in dispute, then the transaction changes character; the equivalent is paid for peace; and Texas is not yet lifted up so high, nor are the United States brought down so low, as to obtain my consent to so humiliating a traffic.

I have heretofore said that I could vote to pay the debt of Texas, on the ground that the repudiation of it by the United States, in the agreement of annexation, was fraudulent. But Texas seems to prefer that we should buy domain and dominion from her rather than pay her debts. She must be content, therefore, to satisfy us concerning the cardinal points in the bargain, viz:

First. *The reasonableness of the amount to be paid.*

Secondly. *The value of the equivalent we are to receive.*

Thirdly. *The title of the vender.*

Fourthly. *The use to which the territory is to be applied.*

First. How much are we to pay? The sum is set down in ——, and the blank is pertinaciously kept open. "The bart Achilles keeps thicket here." A philosopher replied to a man who asked leave to see what he carried under his cloak, "I carry it there that you may not see it."

Well, we are obliged to assume that Texas is to be paid more than her claim is worth, because she will not trust to a distinct and independent negotiation. The payment is a condition of the admission of California; and thus we see California—the desire of the nation and the envy of the world—reduced by the Senate of the United States to the humiliation of chaffering and chewing with money-changers and stock-brokers, continually baiting her offers with richer rewards, to obtain her admission into the Union.

The extent and value of the acquisition are equally unsatisfactory. When the question is on the sum to be paid, Texas owns nearly all New Mexico; but when it comes on the domain to be obtained, it turns out that we are to cede to Texas a part of that province to save the rest; and to pay her ten or fifteen millions to induce her acceptance of the cession. Surely, if we concede to Texas the admiration her representatives require, they must admit that she knows how to coin our admiration into available gold.

The *title*. It is beyond dispute that the territory which Texas offers was, from time immemorial, an integral part of New Mexico, and that not an acre of it was ever in the possession of Texas. It is equally clear that the United States found it in the possession of Mexico, and conquered, and bought it, and that they hold it by treaty solemnly executed. It is as certain that Texas never conquered it, never bought it, and has no treaty concession to show for it.

But, Texas insists that she has an equitable title. She asserted, I think in 1836, by a law in her statute book, that her boundary should be the 42d parallel; that is, she declared her purpose to conquer so much of New Mexico. But she never executed, nor even attempted to execute, that purpose. She came into the United States without having executed it. Her statute, therefore, was mere *brutum fulmen*. The United States, in the articles of annexation, refused to commit themselves to the claim of Texas. Subsequently the United States waged war against Mexico, not for the claim of Texas, but for other causes. The war was waged to obtain satisfaction of commercial debts and indemnities for the expenses of the war. Being thus engaged in war, the United States accepted New Mexico and California in satisfaction of the commercial debts and expenses of the contest, after paying fifteen millions of dollars for their excess in value. Thus the United States, free from obligation to Texas, acquired the territory of New Mexico, making the conquest and paying the whole consideration alone. The claim of Texas is as groundless in equity as by the strict rules of law. The claim of Texas is just as good to the whole of California as to New Mexico.

Nor is the proposition more satisfactory in regard to the purposes to which the territory is to be applied. I am satisfied that the soil of New Mexico is free soil now, by operation of unrepealed Mexican laws. I know that it would be less surely free if this bill were passed. The bill would raise a cloud upon the question. I prefer rather to leave New Mexico as it is.

New Mexico has no representative here. Every phase of this compromise exhibits a dismemberment of her territory; and yet she is to receive no equivalent. Texas already has a vast domain of surpassing fertility. New Mexico is less expansive and comparatively sterile. This bill, nevertheless, literally applies the Scripture, "For unto every one that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance; but from he that hath not, shall be taken away even that he hath."

This perversion of right proceeds upon the ground that either New Mexico has no certain title, or that she has no political Government to defend it.

Sir, New Mexico was a distinct colony of Spain. New Mexico was a State in the Republic of Mexico, and afterwards was a political Territory in that Republic. She was never less than that. We found her in that condition and character. She retains that character now. Only her allegiance is transferred to the United States, while some of the powers of government suspended by conquest remain in abeyance. She is a Republic according the definition of Cicero: "*Res publica, res populi, populus autem, non omnis hominum cœtus, quoquo modo congregatus, sed cœtus multitudinis, juris consensu, et utilitatis communione sociatus.*"

New Mexico has domain, population, resources, and qualified dominion—arts, customs, laws, and religion. She holds these physical and moral elements of a State subordinate to the United States, but nevertheless distinctly, and apart from all other communities. New Mexico, moreover, has framed her institutions on the principle of the common origin of man and the common government of God. And thus she possesses the first, last, and chief element of democratic or republican States—impartial civil liberty—that element which favors the creation of wealth, without which a state must be powerless; the equalization of property, without an approximation to which a State is exposed to oppression; the diffusion of knowledge, without which republican institutions cannot be preserved; and the development of strength, courage, and enterprise, without which a State cannot flourish. New Mexico has adopted the system that is best fitted to maintain war, and the system that is best adapted to secure peace. New Mexico, therefore, might well have aspired, even under Mexican sway—much more may she aspire under the fostering care of the United States — to such greatness as the free States in this Union have attained — such greatness as is attainable by only purely democratic States.

New Mexico, pressed by the encroachment of Texas, and by the jealousy of the slave States, implores from us protection of her territory, and of her Constitution. This bill of Compromise compromises her claims by dividing her territory right and left, boldly assigning a part to undisguised slavery, and the rest insidiously to exposed freedom. Sir, if I concur in giving any Government to New Mexico, it must be as good a one as she has already. Although the drama of our conquest in Mexico falls into successive acts, conducted by different performers, it is nevertheless one whole transaction; and if this bill shall pass, that transaction, so far as New Mexico is concerned, will be a conquest of a free Republic, and the conversion of it in whole or in part into a slave State.

What is New Mexico, that she should be thus wronged? An unoffending rival, prostrate at our feet? I pray you, Senators, for the sake, if not of justice, at least of magnanimity, to exercise your power over her by sparing her—to punish, by forgiving her the crime of loving liberty too well. Her ancient charter contains the glowing words—established by the consent of mankind as the foundation of all true government, which Jefferson made our own—"All men naturally were born free, and were, by privilege above all the creatures, born to command, and not to obey earthly authority, not derived from their own consent." That charter is in our hands.

If we rase all that out, and give the charter back to New Mexico, a mutilated and lifeless thing, we shall have repeated the crime of the partition of Poland, the crime of the subversion of the recent brief, but brilliant Republic of Italy; we shall have emulated the Stuart, who seized the charters of the free corporations of England, and thereby lost a throne; and shall have surpassed the Guelph, who interpolated taxation without representation into the Constitution of Britain, and thereby lost the empire which we enjoy. Sir, it would be an act so unjust and so tyrannical, that, upon the principles of our own separation from Great Britain, it would work a forfeiture of our title altogether. Hear what the good Las Casas said to the Emperor Charles the Fifth concerning these very possessions: "Notwithstanding your grant of all these countries from the Pope, and your title by conquest, you have yet no right over them, unless you do in the first place, as the principal end, regard their good. The reason is, that regard is to be had to the principal end and the cause for which a superior or universal lord is set over them, which is their good and profit, and not that it should turn to their destruction and ruin; for if that should be, from thenceforward that power would be tyrannical and unjust, as tending more to the interest and profit of the lord than to the public good and profit of the subjects, which, according to natural reason and the laws of God and man, is abhorred, and deserves to be abhorred.

Sir, I beg those citizens of the metropolis in the State from which I come, who have requested me to vote for this bill, to consider it in these respects, and then to "examine me, and say how look I, that I should seem to be lacking in justice and humanity so much as this fact comes to."

But it is said that the Ordinance of 1787 is unnecessary in New Mexico, and therefore is an abstraction, and that it gives offence.

I cannot yield implicit faith to those who assure me that peculiarities of soil and climate in New Mexico exclude slavery. They are combined with other statesmen who deny that point; and this bill concedes away the point itself. It expressly covenants to admit New Mexico as a slave State, if she shall come in that character. I cannot surrender a just and benevolent purpose to arguments which knit contradictions as closely as words can lie together. I know that there are slaves at this moment in Utah; and I know, moreover, that the discovery of a few flakes of gold, or of a few grains of silver, or even of a few clumps of coal, in the unexplored recesses of New Mexico, would be followed by a new revelation of the will of the Almighty in regard to it.

Sir, perhaps those who excuse this measure can point me to a tyrant who ever deprived his subjects of what he deemed necessary for them. Nero thought one neck would be more then enough for the Roman people, when he wished they had but one, that he might destroy the body politic at a blow. Perhaps they can point me to any act conferring or declaring human rights that was not an abstraction. It was observed by one of the founders of the Commonwealth of England, that the promulgation of those rights had always "been in terms not concrete, but abstract."[*] Our own experience is the same. There is the Declaration of Independence, with its solemn recital of the natural equality of men, and of the inalienability of their essential rights. There is the Constitution of the United States, beginning with its sublime summary of the objects of the Government, and ending with its jealous bill of personal rights. What were these but abstractions? There is the same bill of rights in every Constitution; and even the Constitutions of many of the slave States hopefully assert abstractions of equality, which, for want of only a complete development of political justice, are not yet reduced to the concrete by established laws.

Perhaps, moreover, the apologists can show me some act declaratory of human rights that did not give offence. The tyrant of France took umbrage at the noble motto which Algernon Sydney inscribed in the album of the King of Denmark:

> ——Manus hæc, inimica tyrannis,
> Ense petit placidam sub Libertate quietam.

Nay, Algernon Sydney expiated with his life the offence of writing as mere abstractions the fundamental principles of our own Constitution; and among them was the Wilmot Proviso, thus expressed by that immortal patriot: "The liberty of one man cannot be limited or diminished by one or by any number of men, and none can give away the right of another."

Equal justice always excites fear, and therefore always gives offence; otherwise its way would be smooth, and its sway universal. The abstractions of human rights are the only permanent foundations of society. It is by referring to them that men determine what is *established* because it is RIGHT, in order to uphold it *forever;* and what is *right* only because it is *established*, in order that they may lawfully *change it*, in accordance with the increase of knowledge and the progress of reason.

The abstraction now in question is the right of all the members of a State to equal political freedom. That is the Wilmot Proviso—that is the proviso of freedom—call it by whatever name you will. If it ever was right at any time, in any place, under any circumstances, it is right always, in all places, and under all circumstances. It can be renounced safely nowhere. Certainly New Mexico is not the region, nor is hers the soil, nor hers the clime, where it should be renounced. New Mexico is the very field of the contest. If we surrender here, where we have all the vantage, where else shall we find ground on which to make resistance?

We have taken a breathing spell from annexation of territory to divide the gains. This division once made, no matter how, the national instinct—an instinct fostered by Democratic sentiments and sympathies, and invigorated by martial ambition—will hurry us on in a career that presents scarcely formidable obstacles. Whatever seemed attractive to the slave States in Louisiana, in Florida, in Texas, in New Mexico, and in California, is surpassed in the valley of Mexico, in Yucatan, in Cuba, in Nicaragua, in Guatemala, and in other States of Central America. *There* are fields native to the tobacco plant, to the rice plant, to the cotton plant, and to the sugar cane, and the tropical fruits; and there are even mines of silver and of gold. There the climate disposes to indolence, indolence to luxury, and luxury to slavery. There those who can read the Wilmot Proviso only in the rigors of perpetual winter, or in arid sands, will fail to discern its inhibition. Our pioneers are already abroad in those inviting regions; our capital is making passages through them from ocean to ocean; and within ten years those passages will be environed by American communities, surpassing in power and wealth, if not in numbers, the unsettled and unenterprising States now existing there. You will say that national moderation will prevent further annexation. But national moderation did not hold us back from the Mississippi, nor from the Nueces, nor from the Rio Grande, nor from even the coast of the Pacific ocean. The virtue grows weaker always as the nation grows stronger.

The demand of the slave States for a division line of 36° 30′, or elsewhere across the continent, between slavery in the South and freedom in the North, betrays the near expectation of these conquests. The domestic production and commerce in slaves will supplant the African slave trade, and new slave States will surround the Gulf of Mexico and cover its islands. Those new States, combined with slave States already existing, will constitute a slave empire, whose seat of commerce on the Crescent levee will domineer not only over the southern portion of the continent, but through the Mississippi and its far-reaching tributaries, over the broad valley that stretches away from the foot of the Alleghanies to the base of the Rocky Mountains.

This, sir, is the dream of the slaveholder, and this is the interpretation thereof. I know full well that it is woven of the stuff that all "dreams are made on." I know how hopeless would be the attempt to establish and to maintain such States, and an empire composed of such States. But I know that nothing seems to slavery impossible, after advantages already won; and that calamities, distant, and therefore derided, will not deter it from the prosecution of its purpose, or extinguish the hope of success.

There is a sound maxim which teaches that every Government is perpetually degenerating towards corruption, from which it must be rescued at successive periods by the resuscitation of its first principles and the reëstablishment of its original constitution. The blood is not more native to the heart than the principle of the equality of men contained in the Ordinance of 1787 to the Constitution of the United States. The Constitution of the United States confers no power upon Congress to deprive men of their natural rights and inalienable liberty. I shall, therefore, insist upon applying the Proviso, not only where it is necessary to save a territory from slavery, but even where its application might be waived, as a means of preserving and renewing the Constitution itself. It cannot be bad political husbandry to stir the earth, and apply fresh mould to the roots of the vine our forefathers planted, when its branches are spreading themselves abroad and clustering upon the States which surround us.

Cherishing these opinions, I have struggled, and I shall struggle to the last, to extend the Ordinance of 1787 over New Mexico. If I fail in that, I shall not then surrender it by entering into the riddling covenant contained in this bill; but shall fall back, as I did in the case of California, upon the people of the Territory, and leave New Mexico in the mean time under the protection of her ancient laws, deeming her "more safe in sitting free, though without guard, in open danger, than enclosed in a suspected safety." This, sir, will be non-intervention—such non-intervention as you and I can practice and justify; not voluntary, self-imposed non-intervention, to betray or expose freedom, but compulsory non-intervention, when all intervention to save it has failed. The President anticipated that failure, through the known discordance between the two Houses of Congress, as we all might well have antiticipated it; and therefore he recommended the alternative without an unnecessary trial. It would have been wise for the slave States to have adopted it then; it would be wise for the Senate to adopt it now. If we reject it a little longer, we shall only reach it at last through the necessity which he so well foresaw. When that time comes, he will have his triumphant vindication; for then it will be said truly of him, as it was of the noble Roman, never did he do more for harmony and for freedom than when to dull and prejudiced apprehensions he seemed to be doing nothing.

I need only indicate the application of these remarks to Utah.

The District of Columbia, the offspring of the Republic, is cherished equally by all of the States; and if the destinies of the nation are correctly apprehended, the capital must one day stand "in dignity and for the liberal arts" without a parallel. But it yet lacks one element of prosperity—the freedom of labor; and one element of greatness—the dignity of labor. Its atmosphere suppresses, although it cannot smother, the love of liberty, which is a public, universal, and undying affection. Why should the great interests of the capital be cast into the balance, to bring up the already buoyant scale of California? The only reason is, that you have decided to overload that scale with the weight of your gratuity to Texas, and of the suppression of freedom in Utah and New Mexico.

Such, sir, is the manner in which California, Texas, New Mexico, Utah, and Columbia, are wronged by casting their interests into the misshapen chaos of fair-seeming forms, and mischiefs manifold, which constitutes this extraordinary scheme of compromise and adjustment.

The scheme has engrossed the Senate six months, to the exclusion of nearly every other measure. If it ever shall reach the House of Representatives, its most auspicious promise there is a rejection, to be followed by a final disagreement between the two Houses. And this will be the sum of the history of the first session of the thirty-first Congress—the history of an attempt to break, in one compact and twisted bundle, fagots so strong and gnarled that they could hardly be snapped singly—an attempt to overcome reason, passion, and prejudice, altogether, instead of engaging reason alone.

We were driven and harassed into this strange proceeding by alarms of danger to the Republic. Well, sir, California, New Mexico, Utah, the District of Columbia, were no sooner crowded and crammed into this unwieldy, rickety ark, through distrust of the customary vehicles of legislation, to weather out the dark and dangerous storm, than the storm passed away like a cloud in autumn. The ominous Kalends of June have come, and with them the extra-constitutional assemblage at Nashville, but not its invading fleets and hostile armies. So also the crisis in the House of Representatives has come, without disclosing the steep ruin which was apprehended. The political elements have subsided from their wild uproar. Why not now let California resume the voyage in her own separate vessel and, following the Presidential chart, make the port speedily and in safety?

The answer is, that the commonwealth is laboring of wounds which threaten its safety. It cannot be improper to apply to each of them a tent that will search it to the bottom.

The first of them is the alleged neglect to surrender fugitive slaves. This wound bleeds afresh at every return of Congress to the Capitol:

> Thammuz came next behind,
> Whose annual wound in Lebanon allured
> The Syrian damsels to lament his fate,
> In amorous ditties all a summer's day.

Sir, it is not proved here that three fugitives a year are withheld against lawful demand; nay, I think it is not proved that even one is so withheld. The value of what is called slave property, because the laws of slave States treat it as property, is not impaired one dollar. Strength, and beauty, and youth, bring their accustomed prices. What, then, is the evil? The People of the free States hesitate at the execution of the act of 1793 among them, without an adequate provision for distinguishing between the fugitive and the free citizen—between surrendering the unhappy slave, and kidnapping the still more unhappy freeman. And what is your remedy? To give the form of a trial after the surrender, in the State to which the alleged fugitive is conveyed! Sir, this will only aggravate the exaggerated evil. Are you, then, prepared to confess that this proud Republic approaches its downfall, because a slave sometimes finds a refuge under it, in spite of its laws?

The next of these evils is the agitation about slavery in the District of Columbia. There are only a thousand slaves here, all told. The people of the free States remonstrate against their being held in hopeless bondage; but they wait patiently, until the mind of the nation can be moved to abolish it. What answer does this scheme give to these remonstrances? It proposes to remove the slave shambles across the Potomac; and, in return for that concession, exacts a guaranty of the continuance of slavery until Maryland shall consent to its abolition. Sir, this is healing the wound by plunging deeper into it the knife that made it. Shall we, then, authorize the newly-returned minister from Russia to give to his imperial master the gratifying intelligence that this Republic, the only counterpoise of his despotism, hastens to its fall by a cause so inadequate and so inglorious as the bare possibility that one thousand slaves may, some five, ten, or twenty years hence, be redeemed from bondage?

The next of these evils is the encroachment of Texas upon New Mexico. Well, sir, we will leave the Territory of New Mexico in the keeping of the President, and her free institutions to the care of her own people, until she can come here as a State and demand admission into the Union.

The fourth of these disasters is the solitude of 10,000 Mormons in the far-off basin of the Salt Lake. But this solitude is of their own choice. They could not live under our Governments in any of our States. It is, therefore, solitude sweetened by independence. The remedy proposed by the compromise is to extend to them institutions like those from which they fled. Sir, the Mormons, when they shall have gathered a population adequate to sustain a State Government, can establish one; and, in the mean time, they will be living under the protection of our arms, and enjoying the only laws they are yet prepared to endure

There is, then, only one real wound upon the body politic—the suspense of California. This is a wound, whose pain is not relieved by anguish in any other part; and this is the very one which, with exquisite surgery, the President proposes we shall heal immediately, and by itself, alone.

But it is insisted that, trivial as these disturbances are, the country is nevertheless irritated, excited, and distracted. Sir, the country seems to me neither excited nor distracted. It is worried by our own delay, and has become impatient—not impatient enough yet to approve this bill, but impatient for the admission of California alone. That is all.

Still it is replied that the slavery question must be settled. That question cannot be settled by this bill. Slavery and freedom are conflicting systems, brought together by the union of the States, not neutralized, nor even harmonized. Their antagonism is radical, and therefore perpetual. Compromise continues conflict, and the conflict involves, unavoidably, all questions of national interest—questions of revenue, of internal improvement, of industry, of commerce, of political rivalry, and even all questions of peace and of war. In entering the career of conquest, you have kindled to a fiercer heat the fires you seek to extinguish, because you have thrown into them the fuel of propagandism. We have the propagandism of slavery to enlarge the slave market, and to increase slave representatation in Congress and in the electoral colleges—for the bramble ever seeks power, though the olive, the fig, and the vine, refuse it; and we have the propagandism of freedom to counteract those purposes. Nor can this propagandism be arrested on either side. The sea is full of exiles, and they swarm over our land. Emigration from Europe and from Asia, from Polynesia even, from the free States, and from the slave States, goes on, and will go on, and must go on, in obedience to laws which, I should say, were higher than the Constitution, if any such laws were acknowledged here. And I may be allowed here to refer those who have been scandalized by the allusion to such laws to a single passage by an author whose opinions did not err on the side of superstition or of tyranny: "If it be said that every nation ought in this to follow their own Constitutions, we are at an end of our controversies; for they ought not to be followed unless they are rightly made; they cannot be rightly made if they are contrary to the universal law of God and nature." (Discourses on Government, by Algernon Sydney, chap. 1st, p. 48) I spoke of emigrants; and wherever those emigrants go—whether they go from necessity or of choice—they form continuous, unbroken, streaming processions of colonists, founders of States, builders of nations. And when colonies are planted, States are founded, or nations built, labor is there the first and indispensable element, and it begins and prosecutes to the end its strife for freedom and power. While the sovereignty of the Territories remains here, the strife will come up here to be composed.

[SEE FOURTH PAGE.]

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[*] Milton.

THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, JULY 18, 1850.

Receipts.—Our system of cash payments for the *Era* precludes the necessity of sending receipts. The paper is stopped when the subscription is not renewed—so that the receipt of the paper is enough.

☞ The story of the *Mother-in-Law*, which has so deeply engaged the interest of a large portion of our readers, closes this week.

☞ We have on hand several beautiful sketches from other gifted contributors.

☞ Mr. Bingham's masterly speech, closed in this week's paper, will be read with great attention.

☞ Next week we shall publish the admirable reply of Horace Mann to Daniel Webster, with the author's latest corrections and additions.

☞ We are sorry that we are constrained to allow so little room to valuable contributors, but it cannot be helped now.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

The Funeral Ceremonies of the late President were celebrated in this city last Saturday, in a very imposing style, and with many evidences of real grief. The city was shrouded in mourning, and all places of business were closed. Throughout the country, due honors are paid to the remains of the deceased.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF GENERAL TAYLOR.

Announcing in a postscript last week the decease of General Taylor, we remarked that rarely had we recorded with more grief the death of any public man. We do not wish the remark to be misunderstood, and shall therefore avail ourselves of this opportunity to make a few general reflections upon the Administration of the late President, embracing specially a view of his policy in relation to the Question of Slavery.

The feelings of a partisan do not belong to our nature. Justice to political opponents is as sacred an article in our creed, as service to political friends. It costs us no more effort to award due praise to those who differ from us, than to those with whom we agree. Truth is the exclusive heritage of no organization. Good and evil are mingled in all parties.

General Taylor was not above the average of his countrymen in intellectual capacity, or dignity of character; and the range of his political knowledge was limited. But, his judgment was good, not liable, we think, to be perverted by any strong bias. In the selection of his Cabinet, he showed more sagacity, a clearer insight into human character, than we had given him credit for. He was an honest, upright public man, national in his feelings, moderate in his views, sincerely anxious, we believe, to promote what he deemed the interests of his whole country. Though bred in the camp, he preferred peace to war, and gave ample evidence of his freedom from the spirit of aggression and conquest. That he was firm, and independent of all dictation, when he had made up his mind, we have never entertained a doubt.

His Administration on the whole was one of which Americans have no reason to be ashamed. As a general fact, the Foreign Affairs of this country have been managed with spirit, wisdom, and dignity; and the conduct of the State Department under General Taylor affords no exception. The nation never occupied a higher position abroad—a position secured by the promptness with which its dignity has been asserted; the firmness with which its claims have been enforced; the sagacity with which its interests have been provided for; the energy with which its neutrality has been maintained against a strong feeling which needed but little encouragement from high quarters, to provoke it to acts of gross spoliation on a friendly nation.

But, there are things to be condemned, as well as things to be commended. General Taylor yielded too much to the proscriptive spirit of his party, in relation to office-holders. Many, we doubt not, were displaced for good cause, but many, we have reason to believe, fell victims to the spirit of party.

His sanction given to the appointment of Mr. Hannegan, a man every way unfit to represent the honor of the nation abroad, and whose confirmation in the Senate was effected in the most disreputable manner, was a blot on his Administration.

Nor can we see any reason that could justify his toleration of Mr. Crawford, as a member of his Cabinet, when he knew that he was engaged in the prosecution of a large claim against the Government. That act brought discredit upon the whole Cabinet.

In relation to the other Departments of the Government, there is little to be said. They have had neither time nor opportunity to signalize themselves in any respect.

We come now to consider the policy of General Taylor in relation to the great Question of the Day—the subject of Slavery, and its extension. This policy has been denounced by slaveholders, as hostile to their rights, and advocated by Northern Whigs as being all that Free Soil men could reasonably ask. On this assumption they raise a claim to the gratitude of the friends of freedom, and an imputation against the independent course of action pursued by Free Soil men in the last Presidential canvass.

We shall examine the policy of General Taylor, its reasons and relations. If we admit that it is favorable *now* to the cause of Free Soil, it does not follow that it was thus favorable, when first proposed; or that the principle on which it was justified, was a safe one; or that the reasons which led to its adoption furnish ground for a claim on the gratitude of anti-slavery men; or that the course of action pursued by the Free Soil men in the last Presidential canvass was wrong or otherwise than beneficial. On the contrary, we may show that the position taken by General Taylor was adopted from motives having no respect to the extension of the blessings of liberty; that the principle upon which it was grounded is not sound or safe; that when originally taken, it worked evil rather than good; and that, if it favor now the Free Soil cause, it does so, not by virtue of its intrinsic merit, but by reason of a state things brought about by circumstances under the control of a Higher Power, and by the independent action of the advocates of the Wilmot Proviso.

Before the meeting of the Baltimore and Philadelphia Conventions in 1848, the Public Sentiment of the North in favor of the restriction of Slavery by positive law, was quite unanimous, and the Whig and Democratic organizations reflected that Sentiment. Those Conventions, representing the two antagonist elements of the Question, Slavery and Freedom, succumbed to the former. The Democratic Convention of Baltimore repudiated the Wilmot Proviso, and selected a candidate identified with the opposing Principle of Non-Intervention. The Whig Convention of Philadelphia, refused to sanction the Proviso, and selected as its candidate, a man unpledged on the subject, but, from his position and personal relations fairly presumed to be unfriendly to it.

It is needless to say that the acts of both Conventions broke up the unanimity of the North, and emboldened the friends of Slavery-Extension in the South.

The policy of the Whig Convention was that of *evasion*, and such became the policy of the party, especially at the North. Had there been no independent demonstration of the Free Sentiment of that section, what could have restrained the downward tendency of a party acting with such a policy? The secession of three hundred thousand voters from the ranks of the old parties, on the ground of the defection of both from the cause of Freedom, kept alive the Wilmot-Proviso Sentiment of the free States, compelled the editors and orators of the old parties in those States to maintain a profession of faith in that policy, and candidates for office to pledge themselves to its support. This secession, and the agitation from which it sprang and which it increased, produced another result, no less important. It colored the sentiments of the numerous emigrants then pouring from the States into California, and they left us deeply imbued with the Free Soil feelings then so prevalent throughout the North.

It was easy to understand that General Taylor, elected under these circumstances, could not overlook or disregard a sentiment which had exerted so much control over the politics of the country. Had there been no such agitation, his feelings as a large slaveholder, and his natural associations, would have inevitably led him to favor the policy of the organization of Territorial Governments without the Proviso. But, elected by a party, radically divided in opinion on this subject, elected because he was unpledged, and aware of the deep feeling in relation to it in both sections of the country, it became a necessity with him to strike out some line of action which should preserve his non-committal attitude. The policy of *evasion* had been adopted by the party at Philadelphia—it must be continued. We do not believe the President was anxious to extend Slavery—it is folly to imagine that he wished to limit it. So far as we can learn, his eyes were never opened to the true nature or relations of the evil; and his great desire was to suppress, if possible, all controversy about it. His position was taken: Let Congress abstain from all action on the subject of the Territories, till they organize themselves into States. In that act they can settle the Slavery Question for themselves, and let Congress acquiesce in the settlement, whatever it may be. Such was his position. It did not sanction the Wilmot Proviso—it did not condemn it—but it waived it. It showed no disposition to favor Slavery, none to favor Liberty; but its design was to avoid agitation, and maintain the harmony, consequently the power of the Whig party. It left Slavery free to push its claims; it left Freedom unprotected against aggression; it aimed to get round a difficulty without meeting it, without regard to the consequences as they might affect the cause of Freedom, with paramount regard to results upon the strength and stability of the Whig organization.

Are we uncandid and illiberal, when we say that in these reasons we find nothing to warrant any claim upon the gratitude, approbation, or confidence of the Anti-Slavery men of the country? But the position taken was made to rest upon a principle adverse to Free Soil doctrines—the principle that, no matter what the decision of the People of a Territory, acting spontaneously in the organization of a form of State Government, may be, whether for or against slavery, Congress is bound to acquiesce in it. Against this, the Whig party in several free States had taken an apparently firm stand, but acquiescence in the position assumed by the President, necessarily involved an abandonment of their proposed opposition to the admission of any more slave States.

Finally, the policy when first adopted, worked evil, rather than good. It paralyzed the vitality of the Whig party in the free States, so far as Slavery was concerned; it distracted its counsels; it put it out of its power to sustain with any efficiency the Wilmot Proviso. The Democratic party in the same States suffered similar distraction. Hunkers, emboldened by the *quasi* apostacy of the Whigs, with new hope sought to regain their ascendency, and a large portion of the Democratic party, no longer fearing Whig competition for Anti-Slavery votes, retreated from their position. The first startling evidence the country had of the mischief wrought, was, the defeat of Mr. Root's resolution, on the organization of the House of Representatives, instructing the Committee on Territories to report Territorial bills with the Wilmot Proviso. To that act, and the divided counsels of the Whig and Democratic parties in the free States, of which it was the evidence and the offspring, and which resulted unavoidably from the position taken by the President, we ascribe, to a great extent, the present overbearing attitude and aggressive demands of the slaveholders. They have taken courage from the weakness and division of the North. Much of what we have since seen in Congress of the feebleness and distraction of the non-slaveholding members, and of the violence and desperate purposes of the slaveholding, we trace to that cause. Had the Whigs and Democrats of the free States maintained inflexibly and unitedly their original position, the *slaveholders* would have become the supporters of the policy of General Taylor, for it is substantially the non-intervention ground which they once so earnestly insisted upon. But the easy virtue of their political brethren of the free States, in *waiving* the Proviso, has emboldened them to demand its *sacrifice*—and instead of Non-Intervention on the subject, they now virtually require Intervention, to open the way for the extension of Slavery.

It will be observed that we have blamed, not so much General Taylor, as the Whig and Democratic parties. Having no principle on the subject of Slavery, having been elected as the representative of the policy of evasion in relation to it, we are not surprised that he should have taken a position in harmony with that policy. He did just what might have been expected from one occupying the attitude in which his friends had placed him. But this does not excuse them for having placed him in such an attitude, for having forced upon him such a party-necessity, nor does it excuse the Whigs and Democrats of the free States for their paltering course. Whatever General Taylor might feel himself justified in doing, their duty was plain, unmistakable—it was, to sustain without flinching the time-honored policy of the Ordinance of 1787.

By a conjunction of events, brought about in part by natural causes under the direction of an overruling Providence, and in part by the Free Soil agitation in the country, the position of General Taylor, taken for reasons having no respect to Slavery or Liberty; advocated on a principle unsound and unsafe, and which at first worked evil instead of good, has of late become favorable to the cause of Freedom. The discovery of the gold mines of California unsealed the fountains of emigration in the free States, adventurers from which hastened to California, and obtained a controlling influence there, before the slaveholders, encumbered with their lands and negroes, had time to strike their tents and set out. These free State emigrants carried with them Free Soil principles, just nourished by agitation into vigorous life. This event, and the frequent passage of the Wilmot Proviso through the House of Representatives, determined the institutions of California. When, encouraged by the Administration, she came to form a State Constitution, she naturally excluded slavery—without help or hindrance from the Administration. Encouraged by the same influence, the People of New Mexico have also formed a State Constitution, *excluding Slavery;* and the explanation of the latter policy is to be sought, not in any intimation from the Federal Executive, one way or the other, but in the existing laws of the People there, their habits, the example of California, and the Anti-Slavery agitation in the United States. The intrinsic character of the position of General Taylor has not been changed by these events. It is now precisely what it was when first broached in an article in the *National Intelligencer*, less than a year ago. He could not certainly foresee that, in the progress of events, his position, without changing, would become favorable to Freedom—and when it did, how could he, without self-degradation, without incurring universal contempt, and utterly distracting his party, revoke it? And yet, when we consider the exacting tyranny of the Slave Power; that General Taylor was a large slaveholder, that all his personal interests were in the section arrayed against his policy, that his life beyond his term of office was to be spent among a people whose views and prejudices he was withstanding, and that the great Northern and the great Southern leader of the Whig party stood in open opposition to him, we cannot but award him praise for adhering firmly to his position. It was manly and honorable; and for this, and for the protection which we believe he fully resolved to extend to New Mexico, we honor his memory.

If this review of the conduct of the Whig and Democratic parties, and of the position of General Taylor, be just, Free Soil men will stand before the world, justified for their inflexible adherence to the policy of Slavery Restriction by positive Law; and from the past they will derive new motives to continued Loyalty to Truth, and uniform obedience to the dictates of their own Consciences.

GENERAL TAYLOR.

Zachary Taylor, the second son of Richard Taylor, a colonel in the army of the Revolution, was born in Orange county, Virginia, November, 1786, and died July 9, 1850, in his sixty-sixth year.

His youth was passed among the pioneers of Kentucky, where his taste for military life, probably inherited, was greatly stimulated. At the commencement of hostilities with Great Britain, he was appointed by President Jefferson, a lieutenant in the 7th regiment of infantry.

During the war, he served under General Harrison in his northwestern campaign against the Indians, and, having been promoted to a captaincy, was intrusted with the defence of Fort Harrison, with fifty men, half of them unfit for duty. A strong party of the Indians, under the Prophet, the brother of Tecumseh, made a midnight attack upon it, but he was prepared, and, after a battle which lasted till six o'clock in the morning, completely repulsed them. Soon after, he took a prominent part in the expedition under Major General Hopkins, against the Prophet's town, and, on his return, found a letter from President Madison conferring upon him a major's brevet for his gallant defence of Fort Harrison.

After the close of the war, he remained in the service in the West, till the year 1832, when he was promoted to the rank of Colonel. He was ordered to Florida, at an early stage of the Seminole war, and on the 25th of October, 1837, in a hard-fought battle at Okeechobee, routed the Indians. For this he was honored with the brevet rank of brigadier general, and in 1838, was appointed to succeed General Jesup in the command of the forces in Forida.

In 1841, he was ordered to Fort Gibson to take command of the second department; and on the 17th of September, 1844, was directed to hold the troops between the Red River and the Sabine in readiness to march as might be indicated by the Chargé of the United States near Texas. In 1845, his forces were concentrated at Corpus Christi.

In obedience to orders, he planted his troops on the 29th of March, 1846, on the Rio Grande, opposite Matamoras. Here Captain Thornton's command was cut to pieces by the Mexican army; and war was then declared by the Congress of the United States to exist. Next followed the victories of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, achieved by General Taylor, over forces outnumbering his own. In the former, the Americans numbered 177 officers, and 2,111 men, against 6,000 Mexicans; and in the latter, 173 officers, and 1,700 men, against more than 6,000 Mexicans.

Soon after these battles of the 8th and 9th of May, he was breveted Major General in the United States Army.

He next marched upon Monterey, arriving there on the 19th of September. He commenced an assault upon it, on the 21st, and on the 23d, was about carrying the city at the point of the bayonet, when General Ampudia capitulated. His forces consisted of 425 officers, and 6,220 men. His artillery consisted of one 10-inch mortar, two 24-pound howitzers, and four light field batteries of four guns—the mortar being the only piece serviceable for a siege. The town works were armed with forty-two pieces of cannon, and manned with a force of at least 7,000 troops of the line, and from 2,000 to 3,000 irregulars.

We find him next advancing in the interior of Mexico, at the head of 5,400 men, not more than 600 being regular troops.

"Here he received intelligence that Santa Anna was advancing on him; and he fell back to Buena Vista—a strong position between Agua Nueva and Saltillo. On the 22d of February, the battle was commenced by Santa Anna, at the head of 20,000 well-appointed soldiers. The particulars of this battle are familiar to all. It continued through the 23d; and, although General Taylor's defeat seemed to be inevitable, yet he succeeded by skill, and by the courage and devotion of his officers and men, in repulsing the overwhelming forces of the enemy, and throwing them back into a desert where thousands perished."

In 1847, General Taylor returned to the United States; in the spring of 1848, he was nominated by the Whigs as their candidate for the Presidency, to which he was elected in November of the same year; and on the 5th of March, 1849, he was inaugurated. Seventeen months thereafter, he who had passed unscathed through the perils of camp life for forty years, and escaped the manifold deaths of many an Indian and Mexican battle-field, is suddenly stricken down by disease, and the grave closes over the remains of the weather-beaten soldier.

"The campaigns of Mexico," says the *Albany Atlas*, "made many famous names, but how many untimely graves? The seeds of glory were the seeds of death, to the gallant Worth, Gaines, Kearny, Duncan, Kirby, and to the illustrious Chief of all, who has now fallen.

MR. FILLMORE.

Millard Fillmore was born at Summer Hill, Cayuga county, New York, January 7th, 1800. The father, a farmer of narrow means, was able to give his son only a limited school education. At fifteen, the youth was set to learn the trade of clothier; at nineteen, he was induced by Judge Wood of Cayuga county to study law. In 1823, having been admitted to the bar, he removed to Aurora, to commence the practice of his profession. He married, in 1826, Abigail, the daughter of Rev. Lemuel Powers, his present wife. In 1829, he was elected to the Assembly of New York, in which he held a seat three years. In 1832, he was elected to the 23d Congress; in 1836, he was again returned; and, having been reëlected to the next Congress, was appointed Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means. In 1844, being the Whig candidate for the office of Governor in New York, he was beaten by Silas Wright. In 1847, he was chosen Controller of the State; in 1848, Vice President of the United States; and in 1850, by the death of President Taylor, he became invested with the office of President.

Mr. Fillmore is a man of fine presence, much dignity, and great amenity of manners. He is an amiable, excellent gentleman, and thus far, has been diligent, faithful, and efficient in the discharge of whatever public duties have devolved on him. His political principles are thoroughly Whig, and so far as we have any means of judging, his sentiments on the subject of slavery are such as are generally prevalent in the North.

He takes the Presidential Chair at a period when great sagacity, boldness, and self-reliance, are required to discharge the duties pertaining to it. Hitherto he has led a quiet life, with no other responsibilities than such as fall to the lot of a majority of public men. Unexpectedly he finds himself obliged to occupy a position from which, under present circumstances, the wisest and most daring statesman might shrink with distrust and trembling.

At such a moment, counsellors are plenty. Political friends and opponents volunteer a superfluous amount of advice. He is admonished by some that the true way to save his country and glorify himself is, to select Daniel Webster for his chief minister, Henry Clay for his great Congressional leader, and the Compromise as the only measure for disposing of the slavery question. Possibly, he may be induced to believe that to abandon General Taylor's line of policy is to secure the grateful support of the great body of the Whigs who so cordially sustained that policy; and that, to put himself under the leadership of Messrs. Clay and Webster is to consult his own self-respect, independence, and usefulness. But we must confess ourselves skeptical on this point.

Mr. Polk was rather younger in years than Mr. Fillmore, and his experience in public affairs, no greater. When nominated for the office of President, he was not so well known as Mr. Fillmore, and he went into the office with no more *prestige* or influence. The leaders of the party that elected him doubtless expected to find him malleable, and his political foes could hardly speak of him with respect. But, devoid as he was of genius or extraordinary ability, and laboring as he did under the great disadvantage of being comparatively unknown, he soon made himself the real head of his party, and even succeeded in compelling the coöperation of his adversaries, in carrying forward the measures by which his Administration was signalized. And how happened this? He was his own master—he was not afraid to take the responsibility—he was able to say, I WILL.

If Mr. Fillmore manifest the same governing power, the people will respect him, though some old politicians may hate him.

For the National Era.

ALL'S WELL!

The clouds which rise with thunder slake
  Our thirsty soils with rain;
The blow most dreaded falls to break
  From off our limbs a chain;
Our very sins and follies make
  The love of God more plain;
As through the shadowy lens of even
The eye looks farthest into heaven,
On gleams of star and depths of blue
The glaring sunshine never knew.

J. G. W.

CONGRESS AND THE PRESIDENT.

The proceedings of Congress were interrupted last week by the death of the President of the United States.

Tuesday, the 9th, Mr. Butler of South Carolina had obtained the floor, and was proceeding to make a speech against the Compromise bill, when Mr. Webster, with his permission, announced the mournful intelligence that the President was not expected to live. The Senate immediately adjourned.

In the House, the same day, the House voted to reconsider the resolutions concerning the Galphin affair, and was considering an amendment offered by Mr. Featherston, when Mr. Bayly of Virginia communicated information of the critical state of the President, and the House forthwith adjourned—the vote on the adjournment being taken, (in bad taste, we think,) by yeas and nays.

Wednesday, Mr. Fillmore, on whom had devolved the office of President, sent a message to the Senate, announcing that he should no longer preside over that body; and he also communicated to both Houses intelligence of the death of General Taylor, proposing at the same time to be present at twelve o'clock, in the Hall of the House, to take the oath of office prescribed by the Constitution.

A Joint Committee was appointed by both Houses to inform the President that they would be ready at that hour. Accordingly, at the time appointed, the Senate proceeded to the Hall of the House.

The galleries were thronged with spectators, and every face wore a serious expression. In a short time, the President made his appearance, and (the Senators and Representatives rising) proceeded down the aisle, accompanied by the Joint Committee and the members of the late Cabinet, to the Clerk's table, where he took his seat. The members resumed their seats; and Mr. Fillmore rose, and in a clear, firm voice pronounced the oath of office administered by Chief Justice Cranch, as follows:

"I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

He sat down a few moments, then rose, and departed from the Hall. At an intimation from the Secretary of the Senate, the members of that body next rose, and passed to their own Chamber, where they immediately organized. The whole ceremony occupied only a few minutes, but was exceedingly simple, yet impressive.

Both Houses then received a message from the President, formally announcing the decease of the late President, and his willingness to concur in whatever measures they might deem becoming the melancholy occasion. The Speaker of the House, with a few neat remarks, laid the message before that body, and Mr. Conrad of Louisiana followed in a brief eulogium on the deceased, at the close of which he moved the usual resolutions for the appointment of a committee to meet a similar committee on the part of the Senate, for the purpose of devising suitable measures for doing honor to the memory of the late President. Appropriate speeches were then made by Mr. Winthrop of Massachusetts, Mr. Baker of Illinois, Mr. Bayly of Virginia, Mr. Hilliard of Alabama, Mr. John A. King of New York, Mr. McLane of Maryland, and Mr. Marshall of Kentucky; after which, the resolutions were adopted, and the House adjourned

Similar ceremonies took place in the Senate, which was addressed by Mr. Downs of Louisiana, Mr. Webster of Massachusetts, Mr. Pearce of Maryland, Mr. King of Alabama, and Mr. Berrien of Georgia.

Thursday, the Senate, on motion of Mr. Dickinson of New York, (all things having been previously arranged,) elected the Hon. Wm. A. King, Senator from Alabama, President *pro tem.* of the Senate; and also received the report of the Committee appointed to make arrangements for the Funeral of the President. A similar report was received in the House, and both Houses adjourned till Saturday, when they again met, for the purpose of proceeding in procession to the President's Mansion, to pay the last honor to the remains of its late inmate.

The Democrats of Ohio held a State Convention at Columbus, Ohio, July 4th, to nominate a candidate for member of the Board of Public Works. No resolutions were passed in favor of the Compromise, but the Convention adopted with unanimity the following:

"*Resolved*, That we hail with high satisfaction the action of the *people of California and New Mexico, in the formation of Governments for themselves, and we insist on their admission into the Union, with the Constitutions they have adopted, without delay.*"

The North Star, published by Frederick Douglass, formerly a slave in Maryland, is an honor to the colored people. We do not think his sentiments always just, or his measures always expedient, but no one can help respecting the spirit and talent with which his paper is conducted.

The Liberty Men of New York, who declined uniting in the Free Soil movement of 1848, assembled in Convention at Syracuse in the early part of this month, and nominated the following ticket:

For Governor—Wm. L. Chaplin, of Albany.
For Lieut. Governor—Jos. Plumb, of Erie co.
For Canal Commissioner—John C. Harrington, of Oswego.
For Prison Inspector—David Plumb, of Troy.

We intend to give more of the proceedings in our next.

Last Words of General Taylor.—The following are stated to be the last words of General Taylor:

"I am ready for the summons. I have endeavored to do my duty. I am sorry to leave my old friends."

The Constitutional Convention of Ohio has adjourned to meet on the first Monday in December next, at Cincinnati.

☞ In our last number some errors escaped notice, which our correspondent asks us to correct. In the article entitled "El Dorado," for "Chaumong" read "Chamouni," for "in involuntary joy" read "an involuntary jig," for "were a relish" read "have," &c. The extract from Bayard Taylor, on the subject of Labor, commences at the sentence: "It will appear natural," &c., and the passage preceding belongs to the reviewer.

In "The Optimist," for "the hundred pages of Steele Hazzlitt" read "the kindred pages of Steele Hezlett," &c.

NEW MEXICO—ITS POPULATION.

The timely movement of the people of New Mexico, by which they have placed themselves in the position of State sovereignty, enabling them to demand as their constitutional right admission into the Union, on a footing of equality with the other States, seems to give entire satisfaction to all save the slavery-propagandists of the South and their allies at the North. The former class of opponents openly deny the right of the people of New Mexico to exclude slavery. The latter are not exactly prepared to take this ground, and are under the necessity of presenting objections to the admission of the new State, drawn from the character of its population. Accordingly we are told, by men professing to be the advocates of ultra democracy and the largest liberty, that the Indian and Mexican voters of New Mexico are unfit for political freedom, and the exercise of the rights of self-government.

The delegate from New Mexico, H. N. Smith, estimates the population of the Territory in round numbers at 80,000. Of these, some 15,000 are the descendants of the Aztecs, the semi-civilized founders of those ancient cities, the ruins of which, scattered over Mexico, attest their original splendor and the skill of their artificers. They are the best farmers of New Mexico, living in compact villages, surrounded by fruit trees, gardens, and great fields of corn and melons. The report of Lieut. J. W. Abert, of his "Examination of New Mexico, in the years 1846–'47," gives minute descriptions of some of the principal Pueblos or Indian towns. The houses are from two to three stories high, firmly constructed of sun-dried bricks, or rough stone, plastered with clay or the glittering white of selenite. Each village has its church, its padre, an alcalde, or chief magistrate. The inhabitants are industrious, peaceable, and kind-hearted. They are lovers of flowers and fruit trees, and Lieut. Abert says that he could at first sight distinguish an Indian from a Spanish town, by the green clump of trees which enclosed it. They raise large numbers of the common domestic fowls, and, like their Aztec ancestors, have a fancy for taming birds. In dress and appearance they scarcely suffer in comparison with their Castilian neighbors. Col. Emory, in his report to the Secretary of War of his Explorations in New Mexico, gives the portrait of an Indian woman, painted from life, in the parlor of the Indian alcalde of Isoletta. It is a picture of remarkable beauty; the figure full and gracefully moulded, and the features delicately chiselled. The women are very tolerable housewives, and our officers, who during the late war had occasion to partake of their hospitality, speak of their well-loaded tables, their sponge-cakes, fine wheaten loaves, and domestic wines.

These Pueblo Indians were the first to welcome the American troops to New Mexico. They disliked the Mexican rule, as it constantly reminded them of the days of the Conquest and the subjugation of their ancestors. Colonel Emory does not hesitate to pronounce them "the best and most peaceable citizens of New Mexico." It would certainly be a most ungrateful return to these people, if their State should be denied a place in the American Confederacy, on the ground that they are unworthy of the rights of citizenship.

As to the Mexican or Spanish part of the population, they are, to say the least, quite as well fitted for the duties and responsibilities of State government, as the old inhabitants of Louisiana and Florida, when those States were received into the Union. They are not an enterprising, hard-working people—the majority content themselves with the simple necessaries of life—they have neither the thriftiness nor the shiftiness of Yankees. They have few books and no newspapers. Yet they are by no means deficient in the rudiments of education; each village has its padre, more or less learned, and Lieut. Abert says it is rare to find a New Mexican boy or girl who is unable to read. Many of the old landed proprietors are wealthy, living in a style of rude magnificence; exhibiting upon their tables massive silver plate, the product of New Mexican mines and the work of New Mexican artisans, and hanging their walls with mirrors and paintings. Their sons are educated in the United States or Mexico. Several have graduated at the St. Louis college. Some of their private residences are spacious, and not without architectural pretension. That of Senor Ortero, at Peralta, has a front portail or piazza of five hundred feet in length. At Peralta, Albuquerque, El Paso, Padilla, and Bernallilo, our officers found polite and intelligent society. All classes are courteous and civil in their social intercourse; crimes of the highest degree are unfrequent, but, as in all parts of Mexico, gaming is a prevalent vice. In the northern part of the Territory there is a good deal of intemperance, and the famous Taos whiskey is too freely used. Lower down, the light, delicious wines of El Paso are in common use. The Americans who visit them have the reputation of hard drinkers, and when Col. Emory, on one occasion, declined the proffer of a bottle of whiskey, the astonished Mexican exclaimed, "What! no whiskey! Then you are no American!"

To the restless, unsatisfied, grasping Anglo-Saxon, the careless ease and listlessness and simple pastoral habits of the New Mexicans are well calculated to awaken a feeling of contemptuous superiority on the part of the former. But it may be a question, after all, whether the *dolce far niente*, the quiet indifference of the one is not as productive of happiness as the goading irritability and habitual unrest of the other.

Every year, the tide of emigration setting towards us from the old world, brings to our shores the poor, the ignorant, and vicious, in numbers far greater than the entire population of New Mexico. These are incorporated into our body politic, and, in the new States and Territories, speedily become voters. We would not, if we could, close our ports against them, and refuse them an asylum in our broad territory. But who would not prefer to the refuse and squalid overplus of crowded European cities, and the annual disgorgements of their jails and work-houses, the quiet, home-loving, and pastoral people of New Mexico, who for the last quarter of a century have exercised the rights of citizens of a republic, and whose insulated position, if it has deprived them in some measure of the benefits of the general progress of civilization, has at the same time preserved them from some of the worst vices which that civilization has carried in its train.

But, as things are, what avail all facts and arguments on this point! Is it not manifest to the wisdom of this great Republic, in Congress assembled, that these New Mexicans are incapable of duly appreciating our cherished institutions, inasmuch as they have prohibited forever domestic slavery in their State Constitution? They have left out the key of the arch, they have rejected "the corner-stone of the republican edifice." They need to wait yet longer in Territorial limbo—proselytes of the gate, tarriers at Jericho until the beard of their democracy has grown to cover the shame and folly of their anti-slavery partialities. Their task just now is plainly that which Senator Webster has assigned to Massachusetts. They must "conquer their prejudices." Whenever they shall have accomplished this, and are ready to present themselves at the door of the Union with a Constitution modelled after that of South Carolina, they will find their present opponents transformed into chivalrous friends, with whom a recognition of the rights of the peculiar institution will prove as potent as the "open sesame" of Ali Baba did to the Forty Thieves.

J. G. W.

LITERARY NOTICES.

The Mysteries of Three Cities: Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. By Augustine J. H. Duganne. The Petersons, Philadelphia. For sale by J. Shillington.

This is, in some respects, a clever production, but written too much in the Ingraham and Lippard style for our entire approbation. We fear that Mr. Duganne is doing great injustice to his real poetical talent, and what has ever seemed to us his high moral sense, by countenancing a vitiated taste, in writing such books as the *Secret Guilt*, *The Illegitimate*, and the one before us—books whose very titles condemn them.

One of two things may be assumed in regard to the writer, who minutely investigates and boldly unveils the mysteries of vice and crime; if he knows by observation and experience that these things are *true*, he is scarcely fit society for us; if he imagines and misrepresents, we'll have none of him. *

Norman Leslie. A Tale by C. G. H. New York: D. Appleton & Co. For sale by Farnham, Washington, D. C.

This is a well-told and interesting story of the Reformation. The scenes are laid at the Courts of Scotland, England, and France, in the sixteenth century. To prepossess our readers in favor of this historical romance we have but to say, that among its fine gallery of characters, are Mary of Guise, Mary of Scotland, Lady Jane Grey, Edward VI, Catherine de Medicis, and John Knox. *

The Vale of Cedars: or, The Martyr. By Grace Aguilar. D. Appleton & Co., New York. For sale as above.

This is one of the best works of this graceful and popular writer. It is prefaced by an interesting memoir of the authoress, who died at Frankfort about three years since.

Grace Aguilar (a *real* name, by the way,) was still youthful at the time of her death, and seems to have been a most beautiful and loveable character. She was a Jewess, and, like the noble Rebecca of Scott, a firm and fervent believer in the grand and melancholy faith of her fathers. Miss Aguilar was of Spanish descent, though born in England.

The Vale of Cedars is a romance of Spain, and the heroine is a Jewess; so the authoress probably wrote *con amore.* *

Heloise: or, The Unrevealed Secret. A Tale by Jalvi. D. Appleton & Co., New York. For sale as above.

Into this book we have as yet merely dipped—reading here and there a page of dialogue, or a bit of description. This much we like. The book *looks* interesting, decidedly; and we hope, ere long, to get time to do better justice to its merits—that is, if we find, on closer examination, that it has any. *

Gibbon's Decline and Fall: with Notes by Milman. New York: Harper & Brothers For sale by Franck Taylor, Pennsylvania avenue, Washington.

Volume second of this neat, convenient, and cheap edition of a standard work, has been laid upon our table. Having noticed the work on the reception of the first volume, we need say nothing more now, than that it will be completed in six duodecimo volumes.

The Daltons: or, Three Roads in Life. By Charles Lever. Published and for sale as above.

We have received the second part. It is good reading, as might be expected, coming from the pen of Lever.

Introductory Lessons on Christian Evidences. Boston: Crosby & Nicholls.

This little work is designed to present in a simple, concise form, adapted to the comprehension of children, the evidences of Christianity. It is said to be the work of Archbishop Whateley, although it originally appeared in England anonymously. It is republished from the tenth English edition.

The Professor's Lady. The Harpers, New York. For sale by Franck Taylor, Washington.

This is one of Mary Howitt's charming translations, through which she is making us acquainted with the literature of Northern Europe. It is a delightful story by Berthold Auerbach.

Annual Report of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. 1850. New York: W. Harned, 61 John street.

A closely printed publication of more than 150 pages. It chronicles in a very instructive way all the important events of the Anti-Slavery cause during the last year. Southern men who would obtain a just conception of the nature, workings, and results of the Anti-Slavery sentiment of the country, ought to procure a copy of this report. It is from the pen of the indefatigable and philanthropic Lewis Tappan.

Dictionary of Mechanics' Engine Work and Engineering. Oliver Byrne, Editor. New York: D. Appleton & Co. For sale by Farnham, Pennsylvania avenue, Washington.

We have already repeatedly called attention to this work. The tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth numbers have reached us.

THE EXECUTIVE AND NEW MEXICO.

As considerable anxiety prevails in the community for authentic and exact information as to the action of the Administration on the New-Mexican question, we make the following statement:

The Constitution of the State of New Mexico was received at Washington on Sunday, and at night a Cabinet meeting was held at the house of the Secretary of State. The President had been confined to his bed since the 4th inst., or the meeting would have taken place at the White House. A majority of the Cabinet manifested the determination to stand by New Mexico and her admission into the Union with her prescribed boundaries, under all circumstances and at all hazards. This determination would probably have created the necessity for a slight reörganization of the Cabinet by the resignation of two of its members, even had the late President been spared us. Gen. Taylor had undisguisedly given his ultimatum to some Southern gentlemen who had called upon him in anticipation of the State of Texas marching troops into New Mexico to enforce her jurisdiction over portions of that Territory. He was resolved to protect New Mexico with force, should it become necessary, without any regard to ulterior consequences. The military posts in that vicinity were to be strengthened, with a view to such an emergency.

FOREIGN ARRIVAL.

Halifax Telegraph Office,
Thursday Morning, July 11, 1850.

The Hibernia arrived at 6 o'clock this morning, and sailed at 7½ o'clock—wind southeast.

It is said that Gen. Narvaez has had a warm discussion with the Ambassador of the United States, in which he expressed the astonishment and regret of the Spanish Government that the Government of the United States had not prevented the expedition of Lopez from being prepared in the States, but had allowed it to depart with the object of attacking Cuba.

It is also reported that the Spanish Minister has addressed a warm remonstrance to Washington, embodying the views of the Spanish Government, and that this note is not written in a very amicable spirit.

The chief feature of the news of the week is the debate in the House of Commons relative to the policy of the Ministry on the Greek question, and the committing of the cowardly assault on the Queen by a man named Plato, formly an officer in the tenth Dragoons. The offence was committed against Her Majesty in the following manner: Shortly after 6 o'clock, on Thursday evening, Her Majesty was leaving Cambridge House in company with Prince Albert, when from among the crowd assembled to witness her departure a man walked out with a walking-cane in his hand and made an assault on the person of Her Majesty. He struck her on the head and face repeatedly, but fortunately his blows took no effect beyond a demolition of her bonnet. The Queen appeared at the Italian Opera the same evening, where she was greeted with the most loyal and enthusiastic reception. The miscreant has been taken into custody, and has undergone an examination, at which he appeared perfectly sane, and it is said that he has been living in good circumstances.

On Monday night, Mr. Roebuck brought forward his commendatory motion relative to the policy of the Government on the Greek question. An exciting and very able debate was kept up every successive night, with varied success to both parties, till Friday, when a division was ordered, and resulted in a majority of 46 for Ministers, in a House of 584. This vote is said not to be a fair index of the state of public feeling in England, as the deepest intrigues are on foot to compel the present Ministry to resign. Lord Palmerston's speech in vindication of his conduct is said to have been especially brilliant. According to Mr. Gladstone, from the dark of one day to the dawn of another day, he made a gigantic intellectual and physical effort.

Through the kindness of Captain Long, of the Hibernia, we have a telegraphic despatch from London of Saturday morning, announcing the arrival of the Overland Mail, with Bombay dates of the 25th of May.

At Benares upwards of 1,000 persons have lost their lives by the explosion of a magazine-boat loaded with 3,000 barrels of gunpowder. A whole fleet of thirty boats were destroyed, and immense damage was done to the town near which the explosion took place.

Commercial advices represent business as very dull. The season is considered closed. No marine news reported.

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE.

Paris, *June 27, 1850.*

To the Editor of the National Era:

The exciting question, "how much money shall the Prince President get?" has been decided after a great deal of manœuvring of parties, and thousands of newspaper paragraphs. The President has got of course all he asked, and what is a little strange, more too. His first demand was for an increase of 2,400,000 francs, which added to his present salary would make just three millions. But, out of this sum, he agreed to pay his own expenses of every kind. His friends of the Assembly have imagined a cunning nominal reduction of the amount granted to 2,160,000 francs, but this does not include the expenses of keeping in order the Elysée or other palaces the President may see fit to inhabit. These expenses are left to the Minister of Public Works, who may make them as high as he pleases. They have already amounted to nearly a million. The Prince has now a snug place. He has a good salary, the privilege of giving in charity as much as he pleases, from twenty millions deposited in the Treasury for the purpose, that of taking game, fruits, and other products of the national domain, and that of inhabiting any palace he may think proper, and of ordering what repairs he may think proper, all at the public expense. Besides, he has the sweet assurance that the present Assembly will grant him more money, should he ask it. Louis Bonaparte's success has made nonsense of Shakespeare's question, What's in a name? It will never be asked again—for a name has changed the moneyless adventurer of 1848, into a Prince President, with resources bounded only by the credit of the great French nation.

The effect on the people of the late discussion will be to cure it of its stupid admiration for the name of Bonaparte. Stupid, I say—for what did the great Emperor do to compensate his country for the lives of two millions of her children, for the destruction of her commerce, and the perversion of her sentiment of patriotism? It may be affirmed of Napoleon, that not a single one of his political combinations was ever strong enough to stand before a breath of wind. His part in the code which goes by his name was too insignificant to entitle him to praise for it. In short, "the thunderbolt in war" was a most energetic, indefatigable, and short-sighted dictator in time of peace. He has bequeathed to France several disagreeable legacies, and among them his nephew. But the latter will satisfy France with the race, and the Napoleon family will be treated, as Plato said he would treat poets in his republic—crown them with laurels, and conduct them politely to the frontier.

The vote was a close one. A majority of forty-six was a poor triumph for the Executive. But there was no danger of his losing, for the Legitimist party held the balance of power, and divided so as to permit the bill to pass by a small majority. The object of all the old parties was to discredit the President before the people; in this they have succeeded perfectly.

A short and decorous debate preceded the vote. The opposition was not as noisy as usual. General Changarnier interposed at the last moment in a vigorous speech in favor of the bill, exhorting the Assembly to give nobly, and simply what was asked. This speech afforded a pretext to members to vote for the bill. Some pretended to see in it a menace of civil war, others of a resignation of the President, and others of Changarnier's determination to put his sword at the service of the President in the case of a refusal by the Assembly. Since the vote, the Orleanist and Legitimist papers have reiterated that their parties would have voted in mass against the bill, if it had not been for the speech of General Changarnier, who condescended to protect the President in this money affair. The organs of the Elysée do not accept this interpretation, but claim that the Assembly has granted a civil list to Louis Bonaparte as it did to Louis Philippe.

M. Fould, the Minister who presented the bill, and said Louis Napoleon was the "second Providence" of France, had reason to be emphatic; for it appears he had volunteered to take up Louis Napoleon's outstanding bills to the amount of twelve hundred thousand francs. But he could afford very well to lose this sum, for his banking house is very wealthy, and makes immense profits in speculations at the Exchange.

One of the stormiest debates of the Assembly took place yesterday in relation to another money affair. The Minister of Public Works has been spending nearly four millions without being authorized by law. For instance, more than 36,000 francs on the Assembly Hall, nearly 72,000 to prepare a hall in which the ceremony of taking the oath of the judges to the Constitution might be performed, and nearly 606,000 to fit up the Elysée for the reception of the President. The rest has been spent in beautifying various palaces, which were good enough for Louis Philippe, but not for the Republic. The Minister had never thought worth while to ask the consent of the Assembly to these expenses. In America, we should say that this was a dilapidation of the public funds, leaving Galphin claims in the shade; but the Assembly thought it all right, and sanctioned it after an impassioned debate of more than three hours. All parties were violent, noisy, and insulting, but, as usual, the weaker party went to the wall. Several members of the opposition, and, among them, M. Emile de Girardin, were called to order, and M. Valentin was called to order, censured, suspended for three days, deprived of half a month's pay, and, to annihilate him, the Government will post up, at his expense, in his district, a thousand placards announcing his disgrace to the public. His offence was telling M. Dupin, that model of partiality in the Speaker's chair, that it was unbecoming in him to call out, in a public sitting, to the Right. "Let them (the Left) alone until their interruptions assume their ordinary character!"

Since the name of M. de Girardin has been mentioned, I will add that his entrance into the Assembly has been the signal for new attacks on him. Newspaper paragraphs and abusive pamphlets are rained on his devoted head. These are all owing to the pen or agency of M. de Forcade, a gentleman attached to the editorial corps of *La Patrie*, and liberally salaried to write down M. de Girardin. Forcade does scarcely anything else, but Girardin appears to care as little for his attacks as Gulliver did for the arrows of his Lilliputian assailants. A report says that the new member has had his card struck off with his title in full, and the addition of the words, "Last choice of Universal Suffrage."

The other proceedings of the Assembly would not be interesting to your readers. Last week, the Minister of Foreign Affairs announced the conclusion of the Greek difficulty on the basis of the acceptation of the treaty of London, for all stipulations not yet performed. This ends the comedy which has been played off by the French Cabinet, partly to divert public attention from the electoral law, and partly to pave the way to an open alliance with Russia, and the overthrow of the Whig ministry in England. We must admit that the French diplomatists have played their parts pretty well. The particulars of the Greek difficulty have not been discussed in this correspondence, because they were of no importance. Your readers cared little about knowing the value of M. Pacifico's frying-pans. The connection of the Greek question with the general policy of European Powers, and the bearings of the law of nations on the doctrine asserted by England, are the points which merited attention, and these have been discussed.

The miraculous change in Louis Philippe's health, predicted two weeks ago, has not failed to take place. MM. Thiers, Guizot, Duchatel, and the other pious pilgrims to the bedside of their dying master, were received by him with great affection. Their presence restored him to perfect health. The particulars of the visit of M. Thiers have transpired, through the friends of that adroit gentleman. Louis Philippe rose to receive him, threw his arms about his neck, kissed him, and wept. For some minutes, he was unable to speak. After this affecting scene, which must have melted into tears the hardened pilgrim himself, though he doesn't own it, the two drew their chairs up close together, and conferred on what was best to be done for France. The ex-King thought that "the safety of France lay in the fusion of the two branches of the house of Bourbon, and the union of all the monarchical parties." M. Thiers says that he agreed in this with him, but thought the time not yet come. The King replied, that something should be done to "hasten the coming of the time." But M. Thiers thought not. Such is M. Thiers's own account of the interview. The public thinks that this Congress of St. Leonard was held to negotiate the union of the two branches, but are quite in the dark as to what was done. This negotiation is no doubt in progress, but it will take some time to arrange the share of the spoils to fall to the lot of each one of the princes concerned. When they are all satisfied, France will have something to say in the matter. But the Orleanists are straining every nerve to get things ready for the advent of a prince—disarming the people, keeping up heavy budgets, and granting civil lists.

In a few weeks, the Assembly will be adjourned for a month or two of the hot weather, and there may be a dearth of political news. But do not imagine there will be a cessation of political activity. The royalist parties are now discussing the propriety of making an effort in the Departmental Councils to get these bodies to petition for the instant revision of the Constitution. It is probable this will be attempted, for the present members of the Assembly dread going before the people for another election. Now is the time to act. If the Councils are not made to speak this year, next year it will be too late. The fatal 1852 will come upon them before they are aware, and the popular indignation sweep them from their posts. Last year, M. Dufaure was in power, and prevented any movement in the Councils; this, M. Baroche favors the movement, and will forward it as much as possible. The intrigues of party are becoming more active than ever. Impediment after impediment to a restoration has been removed. The law against the press will be passed shortly, and then the coast will be entirely clear. The year 1852 is the turning point of French history. That once safely passed, France will be on the high road to republicanism.

The New York papers and your London exchanges will bring you the scurrilous attack of *Le Constitutionnel* on the United States, and a more moderate one of *L'Assemblée Nationale*. As both these papers are organs of the Administration, the articles may indicate the position France intends to take in the negotiations of the United States with Spain in relation to the 103 prisoners of the Lopez expedition. The first-named sheet calls us pirates and protectors of bucaneers, and calls on all civilized nations to join in putting an end to the state of things which now exists. The United States, it says, permits gangs of pirates to organize themselves in her boundaries, for the robbery of other nations; and when the latter remonstrate, our Executive says he regrets it, but can do nothing, nor will he permit anything to be done, to prevent the organization. And if any of the bucaneers are captured, quick, our Government claims them as her citizens. The same article speaks of our statesmen at Washington as not having intelligence enough to understand the bearings of such a claim, and calls our Government a "fantastic" one. You need not be surprised if France and England should both protest against the claim of the United States. The feeling in high quarters here is decidedly unfavorable to us. And if M. Lopez and his friends think they can wrest Cuba from the Spanish Crown, they should take into their calculation the fact that the forces of both England and France will probably be employed against them. No; the time for Cuba is not yet. We ought to have that island, which commands the mouth of our Gulf, but we must have free institutions first, and be strong enough to maintain ourselves in diplomacy or on the high seas against the combined navies of Europe. The People of the United States are apt to forget that they are looked on with jealousy by all the Governments of Europe, and with dislike and contempt by the privileged classes, who see in the growth of the United States a future powerful ally of the spirit of insubordination in Europe. Our remoteness and our scrupulous abstinence from taking sides in European politics have saved us heretofore. But our connection with European politics has commenced, and cannot be broken off. Steam and commerce have brought Europe and America together; our country is the asylum of the oppressed of the Old World; our territory is immense, and invites emigration from Europe; and if we don't free the slaves of our own country, we sympathize with the oppressed in foreign lands, and, if they are of the orthodox complexion, receive them with a hearty welcome. We must then reconcile ourselves to having hard rubs with the European Governments, and we may have one of them in the present difficulty with Spain.

What makes the article more significative is, that it was written by Granier de Cassagnac, an able man, formerly supporter of the Guizot Ministry, but who is now handsomely pensioned by Louis Bonaparte to sustain his cause. He is said to receive his inspiration directly from the Elysée, and to write only on subjects suggested to him. If this be the case, the article may be looked on as embodying the views of M. Louis Bonaparte himself. M. Cassagnac is what is called "a valuable friend." M. Guizot set up a newspaper for him, called *L'Epoque*, and the friends of the Minister subscribed for a million of stock. The paper broke down, owing to the extravagance of its directors, who lived like princes, and gave as good dinners as the President himself. It injured the cause of Louis Philippe by its violence. M. Cassagnac figured in one of the disgraceful affairs of dilapidation of the public funds so common in the latter part of the reign of Louis Philippe. It seems that M. Duchatel, then Minister of the Interior, not willing to give Cassagnac a hundred thousand francs out of the treasury, as a *bonus* for his services, presented him the direction of one of the principal theatres, which M. Cassagnac sold, the same day, for the above sum. Half of the money was paid down, and a note given for the other half. Time sped on, and the purchaser refused to pay the note, not believing that Cassagnac would have the effrontery to sue on it, and bring the affair before the public. He was mistaken. The whole affair came before a jury, and Cassagnac was forced to explain how and why M. Duchatel gave him the direction. He recovered his money, and M. Duchatel kept his post, spite of the attacks of the opposition. This little history throws a flood of light on the corruptions of that Court. When the Revolution came, M. Cassagnac retired for a little while from public view, but he soon returned, and offered his pen to the highest bidder. There are many like him in the Parisian press—men of talent, who will edit you, with equal spirit, a Government or an opposition paper. They are the Swiss mercenaries of Governments. Such is the man chosen by Louis Napoleon to advocate his cause in the *Constitutionnel*.

The local news of Paris is not very interesting this week. Arrests are going on as usual, and the Government press insists every morning that an important conspiracy has been discovered somewhere. But their assertions have ceased to interest the public, as the prisoners are always set free after a few days' detention. An editor has been condemned this week to four years' imprisonment and ten thousand francs fine, for some article which the public had quite forgotten.

The case of Libri, an eminent literary man and member of the Institute, has just been tried. The case made a good deal of noise in 1848. Libri availed himself of the free access given him to the public libraries, to steal the valuable works and manuscripts. His depredations were complained of as early as 1845; but, as he was a fast friend of the Government, they were winked at. Just after the February Revolution, Libri got warning of what was coming, and fled. The Provisory Government ordered his house to be searched, and found in it books and manuscripts to the value of six hundred thousand francs. Libri got safe into England, where he published a book to defend himself. He did not deny taking the books, but claimed that, as member of the Institute, one of his privileges was to take books from the public libraries. As for those he had sold to libraries in England, Germany, and Italy, he had done wrong to sell them, but had only followed the example of hundreds of other eminent men in France and elsewhere, who had stolen as many as he. He was condemned to several years' imprisonment and to pay a fine.

Mazzini, the Roman triumvir, is said to have lately passed eighteen days at Paris. The police could not find him.

M. Raveaux, the German patriot, arrived last week, sick, at Strasbourg. His physicians testified to the prefect that the state of health of M. Raveaux did not permit his removal. Spite of this, the prefect ordered him to quit Strasbourg immediately, and sent him to the frontier, escorted by the gendarmerie.

The postage is to be increased here on the 1st July. Instead of 4 and 8 sous, it is to be 5 and 10. We have the same heavy rates of postage to pay for American letters and newspapers. Those sent by the new line of American steam vessels, and pre-paid in America, cost just as much in Paris as those sent by the English boats, and not pre-paid. This is a sharp trick played on us by Johnny Bull, who is a deal "cuter" than his Yankee son Jonathan. Our legation here is attempting to remedy this matter.

M. Lamartine has sailed for his possessions in Asia Minor. He intends to plant an agricultural colony on them. The Sultan has made a similar grant of land to the Italian Princess, Belgiojoso, for the benefit of the Italian exiles. The land lies on the Gulf of Nicomedia.

Catholic miracles continue to multiply. The one at Fazombrone takes the palm this week. A bust of the Holy Virgin frowned and scowled at a skeptic, and the poor fellow was so terrified that he fell down on his knees and took to praying. Five priests certify to the fact, and compare the skeptic to Saul of Tarsus. Are the United States favored in this way?

The news from Rome is unimportant. That from Germany is that the Constituent Assembly of Hamburg and the Chambers of the Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin have been dissolved. In Belgium there is some excitement about the recent attack of the Pope on the Legislature of that country, and the sudden reduction by Holland of the value of coins of five and ten florins. Spain is waiting tranquilly, for the birth of an heir presumptive. The Spanish General Cabrera has married Miss Coutts, the richest lady in Europe.

Adieu. W.

FROM THE NORTHWEST.

St. Anthony Falls, *June* 8, 1850.

To the Editor of the National Era:

I owe you an apology for my delay in writing; but the numerous cares, duties, and labors necessarily attendant on a settlement in a new country, will, I trust, excuse me from the charge of neglect. The experience of the past winter and spring has served to render me still better satisfied with the country I have chosen for my home. Though the winter was somewhat colder than I had been accustomed to, it was uniform, and far more pleasant than the frequent changes and damp atmosphere of a warmer climate. And then the cold weather of winter is more than compensated by the uniform mildness and warmth of summer. Since the last snow had disappeared in this vicinity, there have been snows a foot and a half deep in various parts of New England and New York; and we learn that in central New York they had a snow storm, and ice frozen to the thickness of window glass, on the 18th of May, while we have had no frosts since the 8th of May, and then a very light one. Yet the season is said to be later here than it was last year. On the 8th of June, last year, they had, in this vicinity, ripe strawberries in great abundance; but now they are just beginning to ripen. The prairies in some places are literally covered with them.

During the month of May, the weather was quite dry, and vegetation came forward but slowly. Since the first of June, however, we have had frequent showers, and the growth of every kind of vegetation has been truly astonishing. I never saw such rapidity of growth in any country. Crops of all kinds look well; and the country, as a whole, presents the most lovely appearance imaginable.

We have had several steamboat arrivals at this village the present season, which has demonstrated the practicability of steamboat navigation to within a quarter of a mile of the Falls. Others are expected soon, and it will be but a short time before the boats from below will come to the Falls as regularly as they now do to St. Paul.

The up-river steamboat Governor Ramsay, which was built at this place the last winter, is now completed, and is making her regular trips twice a week to Sauk Rapids, a distance of ninety-five miles by the river. The scenery along the banks, for the whole distance, is beautiful beyond description. In a state of nature, as it is, without buildings, fences, or cultivated fields, it will even now compare well with the far-famed beauty of the Hudson. It is rapidly filling up, too, with actual settlers. There is considerable prairie already broken along the river, and several thousand acres more will be broken during the summer. On our return from a recent trip to Sauk Rapids, we had, as fellow-passengers on board the Governor Ramsay, near a hundred Chippewa chiefs and warriors, who, at the request of the Governor, were coming down to Fort Snelling, to meet the Sioux in council, and form a treaty of peace. During the passage, they painted themselves, as if for battle, and held their war-dance on the boat. There is a great deal of hostile feeling between the two nations, and there is some doubt whether a treaty can be concluded between them. But the hostility of these tribes to each other has little to do with the security of the whites. Neither tribe is hostile to our people; and should they become so, it would take but little time to quiet them.

The immigration to the Territory has fully equalled our expectations. The number of dwellings in this village has nearly doubled since the opening of navigation. The lumber mills have four saws running day and night, besides circular saws for shingles and laths; yet they are unable to supply the home market. Much the largest share of this timber is used in this village, and none of it goes below St. Paul. Farmers are settling the country around us quite rapidly, and mechanics of all kinds are coming.

If the farmers at the East knew of the facilities and inducements to farming in this Territory, they would be on here in great numbers. There is no part of the Union where the cultivation of the soil is better rewarded than in Minnesota, and it is equally adapted to grazing. Several dairymen in Vermont have written to know whether this country is adapted to their business. I would take this opportunity of saying to all such, that Minnesota is as much better adapted to grazing than Vermont as it is easier of cultivation—and for the reasons I have before given. Farmers who have large stocks can easily find farms here at Government price, which in a state of nature will furnish all the meadow and pasture they need, together with land for tillage, that only needs the plough to prepare it for cultivation; and all this with a tolerable supply of timber for fencing and fuel. And then the products of a dairy here will bring them at least twice as much as in the State of Vermont. Other kinds of farming are equally profitable.

June 20th. The council of the Sioux and Chippewas was quite an imposing affair. The Governor presided over their deliberations with a mildness and dignity becoming the occasion. On one side were about one hundred Chippewas, and on the other near four hundred Sioux. The council continued several days, and closed without a treaty being formed. The Chippewas have conducted themselves throughout the whole affair with so much propriety and good sense that they have enlisted most of the whites on their side. A little incident occurred during the council that did much to produce this result. The ladies in attendance had been seated partly in front of the Sioux, who from this circumstance took offence, and left the council. The Governor sent to inquire the cause of their abrupt departure, and was informed that they "had come to hold a council with the Chippewas," and that, "if the white women were to share in it, they would leave." At this, "Hole-in-the-day," the young chief of the Chippewas, smiled, and very politely invited the ladies to take seats on their side. This little exhibition of tact and good feeling secured to the young chief and his people a friendly greeting from the ladies, and the good wishes of all the whites; while the Sioux only gained by their rudeness a sharp rebuke from the Governor.

The Chippewas presented a written statement of their grievances, and demanded pecuniary satisfaction from the Sioux to the amount of more than $27,000. To this the Sioux would not accede, and so the matter is referred to the Government at Washington to decide and settle for them.

The weather continues extremely warm, but is rendered tolerable by occasional showers. Vegetation comes forward with great rapidity. The river is now quite high, it being what is called the "June rise." This affords a fine opportunity for navigation above the Falls, and is being eagerly improved; for unless the channel is cleared in some places, it will be difficult to navigate in low water.

Immigration continues steady and uniform. Every boat from below comes well loaded with passengers, and a good share of them come to remain. Cattle and horses are brought up the river in considerable numbers, and can be bought almost as cheap as in Illinois; grain and all kinds of farming produce are much higher. Farming utensils of good quality are to be had at reasonable prices.

The politics of the Territory are at present in an unsettled state. Some singular moves are being made in the game, but with what success to the movers remains to be seen at the September election. A good deal of feeling exists against our present Delegate to Congress, on account of the pro-slavery character of his letters during the past winter. He will get a rebuke at the next election, if not "leave to stay at home." There are several candidates who are anxious to serve their country in the capacity of Delegate, and among them all I hope we may find at least one who will not be terrified beyond measure at the threats of slaveholders. The people of this Territory, as a general thing, are lovers of freedom, and many of them are watching with intense interest the progress of the present struggle at Washington. Can it be possible that in the light of this age our nation is to commit itself to the propagation of slavery?

June 29. For a few days past some of our inhabitants have been alarmed by reports of difficulties with the Indians; and although there is, in my opinion, no ground for apprehension, yet reports of this nature grow so rapidly in travelling East, that it is of some importance to have them accompanied by a simple statement of the facts.

The circumstances, as I have them, are these: A tavern keeper at Sauk Rapids, by the name of Potter, had been selling liquor to the Indians, although this is strictly prohibited by law. Last Sunday, a negro purchased of Mr. Potter two quarts of whiskey, and carried it away; he afterwards returned and purchased more. There is no doubt that he sold it to the Winnebagoes, from the fact that about thirty of them soon came to Potter's, in a state of intoxication, and demanded more whiskey. This being refused, a fight soon followed, in which several of the Indians who were in the house were put out, and the door fastened. The Indians then attacked the house, and Potter fired on them from the inside several times, killing one Indian and mortally wounding another. Two white men, who by accident were shut out of the house with the Indians, came near being killed by them. One of them had his left arm and hand badly broken, and his other arm badly wounded with a knife. The other received seven wounds upon the head, but none of them very severe. Potter and the wounded men took a canoe, about sundown, and arrived at this place early in the forenoon of the next day, having come a distance of ninety-five miles. The Indians are very much exasperated against Potter, and will undoubtedly shoot him on the first opportunity. But there is no danger to any others. The whole affair is the effect of whiskey which Potter furnished, well knowing that it would go to the Indians, as that is a very common way for them to obtain it. Many of our citizens are disposed to leave Potter and the Indians to settle the difficulty between themselves. Yet Potter has his friends, and a volunteer company of fifty or sixty has been raised in St. Paul, who are now on their way to Sauk Rapids; but there is very little probability of a fight with the Indians.

The steamer Anthony Wayne was here at the Falls on Thursday last, with a pleasure party from St. Louis. Two other boats are expected on the Fourth of July. There are seven boats that make their trips regularly to St. Paul, and all seem to be doing a good business. Immigration is increasing.

Should there be any further trouble between the Indians and the whiskey traders, I will keep you advised of it. Yours, truly,

J. W. N.

From the Saturday Evening Post

LETTERS FROM GRACE GREENWOOD.

Washington, *June* 29, 1850.

Gentlemen: The proceedings of Congress for the week past have been interesting, but not highly exciting in character. Next week will probably come "the tug of war" on the Compromise Bill.

On Monday and Tuesday, Mr. Soulé addressed the Senate at length, on his amendment. The exordium of his speech was, I should say, rather unfortunate. It was not conceived in a spirit of remarkable kindness, or modesty, to say the least. He indulged rather freely in censures and sarcasms on certain principles and sentiments prevailing throughout a large portion of his adopted country, and honestly and firmly advocated by some of the ablest and most honorable members of that Senate, to which he has been exalted through the very spirit of liberty and toleration which he seems himself to lack and disregard—and where he stands as an alien and an anomaly. He was not even complaisant and complimentary enough to call the sentiment of the North "a mistaken philanthropy, doing more honor to the heart than the head," but contemptuously pronounced it "a blind fanaticism."

The style of this speaker is dramatic in a high degree; his attitudes are full of artistic elegance and grace, and some of his tones, looks, and gestures, would have done honor to Talma. His is a peculiarly French style of speaking—brilliant and striking, but lacking, I think, the higher essentials of oratory. Mr. Soulé has neither the ponderous argument, and calm, luminous reasoning of Webster—nor the mighty will, now bold and imperious, now irresistibly persuasive—the inspiring, subduing, overmastering eloquence of Clay—nor yet the varied, powerful, impassioned oratory of Corwin. But, as I said, it is *dramatic*, and is better suited to the French Chamber of Deputies, than to a Senate whose members, in their honor be it said, are, with few exceptions, marked by true Anglo-Saxon simplicity, earnestness, vigor, and solidity.

On Wednesday, Judge Douglas of Illinois replied to Mr. Soulé in a most masterly manner, it is thought. He was evidently perfectly assured and fortified on all the points at issue. Judge Douglas is a strong man, I should say, in more respects than one, for though of slight person, he looks vigorous, and there is much of fire and resolution in his fine dark eye. It is rare to see such an amount of spirit and energy packed into so small a compass.

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On Thursday, we listened to a long and most peculiar speech from the lately appointed successor to Mr. Calhoun. This was a powerful dose of the extremest South Carolina ultraism. The honorable Senator arose under the shadow of the greatness of his predecessor—feeling on his shoulders more the burden of his nullification, than the mantle of his inspiration. He seemed haunted by the shade of departed genius—to fear that the spectre-eye was upon him, the spectre-ear listening for his words; a groundless apprehension, it is to be hoped, as the soul of the orator was just then, probably, anywhere else than in the Senate Chamber.

I have heard, somewhere and sometime, a little story of a certain black-bird, who, while leading a retired, pastoral life among the meadows and corn-fields, beheld, one day, a gallant old eagle brought down by the swift shaft of a remorseless archer, from his eyry on a high perilous peak, overlooking sea and land. When the black-bird saw that lofty place all vacant and desolate, he resolved he would ascend thither, and, though he could not *fill*, he would patriotically *occupy* the storm-tossed eyry, till the coming of another of the right regal race. The fable goes on to say that when there came on such tempests as were wont to call forth the loud, defying scream of the grand old eagle, then the black-bird, rising with ruffled feathers, would look forth boldly from his huge eyry, and do his best in a shrill, menacing whistle, which would pierce for a short space into the darkness and the tumult, there to be cried down by the winds, and drowned by the waves in their hoarse dashing. Yet it certainly was a brave and laudable effort on the part of the black-bird to whistle at all under such circumstances. But pray pardon this lengthy and utterly irrelevant digression.

The new Senator from South Carolina was followed by General Foote of Mississippi, who gave us a fine specimen of his most passionate style, and Mr. Butler of South Carolina, whose manner of speaking I admire for its energy and clearness. Mr. Davis of Mississippi also spoke, at great length, and in a violent, unconciliatory spirit. He came down hot and heavy on his colleague, Mr. Foote, who rose every now and then in explanation, or defence—so we had a spicy debate. During his speech, this belligerent statesman rather went out of his way to do up the letter writers, some of whom, it seemed, had misrepresented him, but whom he, without discrimination, and *en masse*, denounced and defied. Looking up into the gallery, where sat the offenders, innocently nibbing their pens, he seemed to regard them as a long line of literary Mexicans, opened a hot fire upon them, and gave no quarter. The next morning I fully expected to see that gallery cleared of the killed and wounded, but, on my soul, there they were again! all sound and hearty, taking notes and recording votes.

On Friday, Mr. Davis of Massachusetts commenced speaking on the amendment of Mr. Soulé, but did not conclude until to-day. His speech was conceived in an admirable spirit, and delivered in a calm, but earnest manner. It was characterized throughout by clear, close reasoning, and a tone of manly sincerity, worthy one who wears, as a crown of honor, such a popular *sobriquet* as that of "Honest John."

Have you any idea of the multitudinous amount of Generals, Colonels, Governors, and Judges, there are in this Congress? I hardly know a man in either House who does not sport some military or civil title. They are not exactly "all corporals," but something higher up. Among the Generals of the Senate, with buff vest buttoned up to the chin, *a la militaire*, sits the gallant Shields, with as many lives as a cat, and all nine devoted to the service of his country. One, to look on his genial face and erect figure, would hardly suppose he had ever fought so fiercely, or been so thoroughly riddled by the bullets of the enemy. Near him sits General Greene, of Rhode Island, "a true-hearted man," people tell me—and most certainly his frank, pleasant countenance bears them out in all such assertions.

A few days since, Colonel Fremont was pointed out to me, in the Senate Chamber. He stood leaning over the seat of his stately father-in-law, conversing with him, and in that position and at that distance I could not distinguish his features. But my heart beat the quicker at the very sight of the heroic adventurer.

The two most distinguished women of the age, Fredrika Bremer and Dorothea Dix, are now at Washington. It is cheering and impressive to know of these two great types of womanhood, that their crowning distinction is goodness, and the richer portion of their fame is love. Ah, we may know that this earth of ours is not left swinging away off here out of God's atmosphere, abandoned and forgotten, while such natures are sent to us, bearing the fullness of Heaven's life, and while we can receive and *know* the angelic visitants—while all, the aged and the young, the lofty and the humble, the meek woman and the brave soldier, the little child and the great statesman, "delight to do *them* honor."

Adieu. Grace Greenwood.

Washington, *July* 6, 1850.

Gentlemen: The coming of the 4th has somewhat interrupted the proceedings of Congress this week—national legislation giving way to national glorification.

Saturday, Monday, and Tuesday, were principally taken up with speeches on the Compromise Bill, from Mr. Cooper of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Upham of Vermont. Mr. Cooper is rather an agreeable-looking man, and doubtless a man of ability, but, as a speaker, he is dull, prolix, and mechanical. His principles and prepossessions are said to point to the Southern quarter of the political compass. Mr. Upham, on the contrary, is of the North, Northy. His speech was true, I think, to the sentiment of his section of the country, but sounded as though written to order. He acknowledged, very naively and unnecessarily, that he prepared it three months ago—and he certainly read as though he had never looked at it since. His manner was without ardor and earnestness—cold and monotonous, and, like Mr. Cooper's, his speech seemed stretching itself out to the crack of doom. By the way, a just subject for agitation and animadversion is the frightful prolixity of honorable gentlemen, who, having prepared speeches in the cool Spring weather, deliver them in the dog-days, with remorseless resolution, looking glum if their audience do not take it coolly. There rises a Northern Statesman, who, with the desire of favoring some Southern policy, hath the fear of being cashiered by his constituents—who must steer slowly and carefully between Scylla and Charybdis—or rather, like a circus-rider, must mount and manage two steeds at once; or a Southern alarmist croaks out the commonplaces of agitation—*boring* the Senate with his evil *auguries* on the fate of the Union. Honorable Senators read newspapers, frank letters—receive their pay, and write receipts at their desks—fans, snuff-boxes, paragraphs, and caricatures, go round—there are elevated a pair of slippered feet, which may have done execution in an Alabama ball-room—there is bowed a head, held by the friction of many laurels—nods and winks most *mal-apropos*, and out of character, are on the increase, and yawns and stretchings grow frequent and contagious. Yet flows on, unceasing, the unheeded oratory—a drizzling stream of legal argument, or statistical statement—or a foaming current of patriotic sentiment, in a weak, wordy solution, bravado and balderdash for Buncombe. It is too much—there are bounds to human endurance—Senator after Senator rises with slow dignity from his arm-chair, and quietly slopes through the northern door-way, for an hour's *siesta* in the ante-room—the galleries grow unquiet, and thin off momently; even the gracious smile of the handsome President grows languid, and his appealing glance calling to his seat some *chair-it-able* substitute, he yields the post of honor, with his own peculiar grace, and glides forth, smiling as he goes, benignantly to the last. Yet *still* flows on, unceasing, the unheeded oratory, in bewildering eddies of sophistical reasoning, over shallows of thought, with now and then a small bubble of wit, or a soft gurgle of sentiment, and sometimes, though very rarely, of course, a slight muddiness of meaning.

Mr. Bell of Tennessee has been ringing loud and sharp for two days, in the ears of the Senate, and will probably toll through the morning to-day. He is a fine speaker in some respects, but too fearfully diffuse—weakening all his strong points by repetition. He is most earnest and energetic at times, and wonderful is the power of his lungs, if not the force of his logic. An eloquent defence of the President and his policy was a very interesting portion of this interminable speech.

The speech of Mr. Seward of New York, delivered on Tuesday, was an admirable effort—strong, straight-forward, clear, and condensed, yet not without the ornaments of true eloquence and poetry. The manner of this Senator does not correspond with his matter. His voice does not vary greatly, and he never seems powerfully excited, even when uttering the most radical sentiments. He is characterized by a quiet boldness, a cool, I had almost said a calculating audacity in the expression and support of his opinions.

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On the evening of the 3rd, the ladies of the National Hotel held a reception. Miss Lynch seemed the presiding genius, and she was a host as well as a hostess in herself, with the ease, gaiety, and kindliness of her manner. Fredrika of Sweden was also there—with her simple, retiring manner, her kind words and her sweet voice, making herself *felt* as a presence of gentle greatness. Forms of manly beauty, faces of feminine loveliness, were around her that night, which the authoress may yet unconsciously reproduce in her vivid word-painting. Yes—we had "fair women and brave men," and some brave women and fair men—we had music, we had dancing! Ay, honorable members, Senators, Judges, and Generals, *chasséed and dos-a-dosed* with belles and blues, in blissful forgetfulness of all the cares and dignities of State. Immediately behind where I stood, sat the Vice President, Mr. Fillmore, in conversation with the heroic wife of the heroic Fremont, and I almost expected "the Chair" to call us to order, in his own bland and half-deprecating manner, when anything went wrong in the dance. We had laughing and jesting over ices—we had *tête-a-têtes* in window-seats, and promenades along piazzas—all the usual concomitants of a pleasant evening party, except compliments and flirtations. Statesmen and authoresses, of course, know nothing of such things—and then, most of the company were married!

On the 4th, were the usual parades, ceremonies, and festivities. Senator Foote delivered, from the Washington Monument, an oration which has been much commended. It was brief, simple, and in passages eloquent. It breathed a patriotic, a truly *national* spirit.

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I must not forget to record its great and peculiar distinction. It was the first Fourth of July address I had ever heard or read, heard of, or read of, having no quotations from, no allusion to the heroes, poets, orators, and philosophers, of Greece and Rome. I had supposed a general sort of *pro tem.* resurrection of those old worthies a necessary part of the programme of our annual glorification. This forbearance was the more commendable, as the General's fine classical attainments place under his command a most effective brigade of able-bodied ancients.

Mr. Clay bears up bravely against the extreme heat of the season, the wearying delays to which his favorite measure is subjected, and the opposition with which it is met by prominent representatives of both parties, North and South. He may be seen every morning at his post in the Senate, sitting quiet and erect, now and then turning to shake hands with a friend, smiling always, as he does so, in his own illuminating way. He now speaks seldom and briefly, but his voice gives out still in its higher tones the same imperial or impassioned sound—still belongs to its lower tones the old beguiling music. When in moments of excitement he rises to speak, and stands so firm and proud, with his eye all a-gleam, while his voice rings out clear and strong, it almost seems that his apparent physical debility was but a sort of Richelieu *ruse*, and that the hot blood of youth was yet coursing through his veins, and the full vigor of manhood yet strong in every limb. The wonderful old man.

Grace Greenwood.

DESTRUCTIVE FIRE IN PHILADELPHIA.

GREAT LOSS OF LIFE!

Philadelphia was visited on the afternoon and evening of the 9th, with the most destructive conflagration which has ever raged within her limits. The fire originated about 4½, P. M., in a store on the east side of Water street, below Vine. About half an hour after it broke out, it reached a large quantity of saltpetre, when a most terrible explosion took place, which communicated the flames to some twenty or thirty buildings, and killed and wounded a great number of persons—some being so charred and injured that it was impossible to recognise them. Probably about a dozen people were killed on the spot, and forty or fifty others seriously injured. This explosion naturally paralyzed the firemen for a time, which was another cause of the fire obtaining such headway.

About 11 o'clock, P. M., the firemen, by the most heroic and persevering efforts, succeeded in arresting the further advances of the flames. The burnt district then comprised the space included between Callowhill street on the north, New street (first below Vine) on the south, Second street on the west, and the Delaware river on the east—comprising some four squares, or twelve smaller blocks of houses, in which there were probably from two to three hundred buildings. The locality was one of the most densely populated in the city, and a large number of the residents being poor people, the amount of suffering is immense. The loss is estimated at from one to two millions of dollars.—*Philadelphia Saturday Evening Post.*

CONGRESS.

THIRTY-FIRST CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

SENATE.

Monday, July 15, 1850.

After the transaction of the usual morning business, the consideration of the report of the Committee of Thirteen was resumed.

Mr. Butler closed his remarks in opposition to it, and the bill was then reported from the Committee of the Whole to the Senate.

Mr. Benton asked that the question be taken on the amendments separately.

The question was so taken, and all the amendments were concurred in without a count, with the exception of that made on motion by Mr. Berrien, whereby the words "in respect to" African slavery, in the 10th section, were stricken out, and the words "establishing or prohibiting" were inserted. The question on concurring with this amendment was decided in the affirmative, as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Atchison, Badger, Barnwell, Berrien, Butler, Clay, Clemens, Davis of Mississippi, Dawson, Dickinson, Dodge of Iowa, Downs, Foote, Houston, Hunter, Jones, King, Morton, Rusk, Sebastian, Shields, Soulé, Sturgeon, Turney, Underwood, Webster, and Yulee—27.

Nays—Messrs. Baldwin, Bradbury, Bright, Cass, Chase, Clarke, Cooper, Corwin, Davis of Massachusetts, Dayton, Dodge of Wisconsin, Felch, Greene, Hale, Hamlin, Miller, Norris, Phelps, Seward, Smith, Spruance, Upham, Wales, Walker, and Whitcomb—25.

Mr. Seward moved to amend the bill by inserting, in the 10th and 38th sections, the following words:

"That neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist in the said Territories of New Mexico and Utah, except for the punishment of crimes, whereof the parties punished shall have been duly convicted."

And the amendment was rejected without a count.

Mr. Walker submitted a motion to strike out all of the bill except that part relating to the admission of California as a State, but withdrew it, to allow additional amendments to be made.

Mr. Hale submitted an amendment, granting in express terms to the people of Utah and New Mexico the right to the writ of *habeas corpus*, which amendment was adopted.

Mr. Benton submitted the following amendment to that part of the bill defining the proposed boundaries of Texas.

Strike out from the second line, proposition first, of section thirty-nine, after the word "Beginning," these words: "at the point on the Rio del Norte commonly called El Paso, and running up that river twenty miles, measured by a straight line thereon, and thence eastwardly to a point where the hundredth degree of west longitude crosses Red river, being the southwest angle in the line designated between the United States and Mexico, and the same angle in the line of the territory set apart to the Indians by the United States;" and insert after the said word "Beginning," these words; "at the point in the middle of the deepest channel in the Rio Grande del Norte, where the same is crossed by the one hundred and second degree of longitude west from the meridian of Greenwich; thence north along that longitude to the thirty-fourth degree of north latitude; thence eastwardly to the point at which the one hundredth degree of west longitude crosses the Red river."

Mr. Benton then addressed the Senate in support of the line proposed by this amendment, and in opposition to that proposed by the committee. He said that the difference in the extent of territory cut from New Mexico and added to Texas was 70,000 square miles; that is, the line of the committee took seventy thousand square miles of territory from New Mexico, and added it to Texas.

He then examined the terms of the bill and the language of the report of the committee upon this part of the measure, and commented particularly upon the terms used in both. He pronounced the line proposed by the committee to have no possible earthly cause to make it entitled to any deference. No reason was given for it. He denied the right of Texas to this Territory, and exhibited a map prepared by Cordova, which had been approved by the representatives of Texas, and the State authorities of Texas, to show that in 1848 Texas did not assert or claim this Territory as part of her domain. He said that the committee dismembered New Mexico. They cut off both legs, and gave them to Texas, and left the trunk to stump it the best way it could. They cut New Mexico in twain below the hips.

He adverted to the impropriety and irregularity of conjoining these incongruous subjects in one measure. He described them all. He alluded to the nicely balanced state of parties on this bill in the Senate, and that the turn of two votes either way could decide its fate. He described the proposal to pay Texas blank millions of dollars, and said that the fate of the bill depended on the amount paid to her. Her Senators desired to protect her interest, and if she were not paid a sum sufficient in their estimation, they would vote against the bill. Here, then, was the fate of California and the Territories placed upon the hazard of many millions of dollars which was to be paid to Texas, for property which already belonged to the United States.

Mr. Rusk obtained the floor, and, on his motion, the Senate adjourned.

Tuesday, July 16, 1850.

Mr. Rusk replied to Mr. Benton in relation to the boundary of Texas. Mr. Clay made a short speech also in reply, and Mr. Benton rejoined with much severity.

Mr. Hale moved to lay upon the table both the bill and the amendment of Mr. Benton, but withdrew the motion at the request of Mr. Foote, who submitted some amendments, one dividing California.

Mr. Webster obtained the floor, the subject was postponed, and the Senate went into Executive session.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Monday, July 15, 1850.

The Galphin business was disposed of by the adoption of the third resolution of the committee, which had been reconsidered, all amendments having been withdrawn in consequence of the death of the President.

Mr. Bayly asked leave to offer a resolution—that the several Appropriation bills, including that for the payment of the civil and diplomatic expenses of the Government for the year ending June 30, 1851, be made the special order of the day for to-morrow, at 12 o'clock, and be continued as such every day, with the exception of Friday and Saturday, until they shall have been disposed of.

Objection being made, he moved a suspension of the rules.

The question was taken on the motion to suspend the rules, and decided in the negative—yeas 88, nays 90.

Mr. Stephens of Georgia asked leave to offer a joint resolution, which was read for information—that, the Senate concurring, the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the Senate bring the present session to a close, by an adjournment of their respective Houses, on Monday, the 26th of August next, at 12 o'clock, meridian.

Objection being made, he moved a suspension of the rules.

And the motion was disagreed to—yeas 68, nays 109.

On motion of Mr. Strong, the House resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, (Mr. McLane of Maryland in the chair,) and proceeded to the consideration of the special order, being the report of the Committee of Elections, to which were referred the credentials and the memorial of Hugh N. Smith, praying to be admitted to a seat in the House as a delegate from New Mexico.

The report concluded with the following resolution, viz:

Resolved, That it is inexpedient to admit Hugh N. Smith, Esq., to a seat in this House as a delegate from New Mexico.

Tuesday, July 16, 1850.

The time as usual was occupied to little purpose. A resolution was passed to terminate debate the following day on the resolution respecting Hugh N. Smith.

FOREIGN MARKETS.

Liverpool, *June* 28, 1850.

Cotton.—The market closed quiet but firm. Sales, upwards of 65,000 bales, of which speculators took 22,000 and exporters 11,000.

Flour.—Dull, but unchanged in price.

Corn.—White, 1*s.* a 1*s.* 6*d.*, and yellow, 2*s.* per quarter lower.

Provisions.—Limited stock, and increased demand for shoulders at an advance of 2*s.* per cwt. In all other descriptions the market has a declining tendency.

Lard.—Fair demand at steady rates.

Coffee.—Steady demand at full prices.

London, *June* 28, 1850.

Sugar.—Firm, but little doing; dealers waiting reduction of duties.

Tallow.—Dull at 37*s.* for pure.

Wool.—Large business at advance prices.

Salt.—Slightly advanced, proprietors having combined to uphold prices.

Quercitron Bark.—20 hhds. first sort Philadelphia sold at 12*s.*

Hemp.—Nothing doing in Baltio.

Ashes.—Retail demand.

Iron.—At a meeting of Ironmongers it was resolved to continue former prices. Market very dull.

OAK HALL, BOSTON.

The fame of this great Clothing Establishment has gone into every section of the country. Its branches are being established in every part of the Union. The low-price system and extensive advertising have built up this famous establishment.

☞ FOWLERS & WELLS, *Phrenologists and Publishers*, Clinton Hall, 131 Nassau street, New York. Office of the *Water Cure* and *Phrenological Journals.*

BUCHANAN'S JOURNAL OF MAN,

Edited and published by Dr. J. R. Buchanan, Professor of Physiology and Institutes of Medicine in the Eclectic Medical Institute of Cincinnati.*

THIS Journal is devoted to the *entire science of man*, and especially to recent and wonderful discoveries in Phrenology, Physiology, Psychology, and other anthropological sciences. Vol. I, terminating in June, 1850, comprises 620 pages, and eight engravings—price $2. Vol. II, commencing in July, will be published in monthly numbers of 52 pages, at $1 per annum, in advance. The editor of this Journal is the original discoverer of the impressibility of the brain, and of many of its functions undiscovered by Gall or Spurzheim. His lectures in the Institute elicited from his class the following expression:

"While therefore we gratefully accord distinguished honor to the labors of Gall and his coadjutors, we do at the same time regard the contributions which have been made to Anthropology by Dr. Buchanan as far exceeding those of his predecessors."

Many similar statements, from classes and committees of investigation, might be adduced. The readers of the Journal speak of its contents in enthusiastic language, and the venerable Professor Caldwell, the father of Phrenology in America, as well as its most distinguished and learned champion, says of the Journal:

"The knowledge your Journal contains is of an elevated, rare, and refined order, and a valuable character. At present, however, you are in advance of the age."

Specimen numbers of the Journal will be sent gratuitously, by addressing the editor, post paid.

* The Eclectic Medical Institute is the principal Medical College of Cincinnati, and is one of the seven leading medical schools of America. Its instruction is remarkable for its liberal and comprehensive scope. July 18.

THE WEEKLY EVENING POST.

CIRCULAR.

Office of the Evening Post,
No. 18 Nassau Street, New York City.

THE Weekly Evening Post is hereafter to be published upon a sheet of the same size as that on which our daily edition is printed. This enlargement, which enables us to print twelve additional columns of matter, or what will be equivalent to more than one third more than the previous contents of that paper, has been resolved upon from a desire to make our weekly edition more complete, but without intending to increase its cost to subscribers.

We cannot permit the occasion to pass, however, without reminding our friends that the change we contemplate will very materially increase our expenses, for which many thousand additional subscribers will be necessary to indemnify us. We issue our Weekly for one dollar a year to single subscribers, and eleven copies to one address for ten dollars.

In its former shape, we believe it to have been the cheapest journal published in the United States. In nearly doubling its size, we feel that we establish a claim upon our readers and friends, to which we hope they will excuse us for directing their attention.

The Evening Post is the oldest Democratic paper in the State of New York, and one of the oldest in the United States. The plan upon which it has been conducted has not been calculated to secure for it any but disinterested support. Its editorial columns have been uniformly appropriated to what were deemed matters of public concern, and the proprietors confidently appeal to its whole history, embracing now a period of only one year less than half a century, to show a single instance in which it has circulated opinions which its editors did not entertain, or advocated measures which they supposed did not tend to the public good. In prosecuting this course, they have been frequently brought in conflict with the private interests of individuals and of classes; they have been compelled to disoblige old and valued friends, to assail hoary and consecrated prejudice, and to denounce wickedness and crime in high places.

The faithful discharge of such duties is certain to arouse the active hostility of multitudes, but it is likely to make a few active friends. The champion of the public interest, however efficient and successful may be the service he renders, rarely inspires any individual with the sense of personal obligation. While there may be tens of thousands to approve, there may not be ten who will think of rewarding. The time is pretty sure to come, however, when history steps forward to vindicate the career of the independent journalist, and to reward him in some degree for the sacrifices which his course may have subjected him to. Of that reward, the Evening Post has not been denied its share. It has a historical inheritance of which any journal might be proud, for it will be difficult to point to a single principle which has been finally incorporated into the public policy of this country, that does not owe its position there in some degree to the advocacy of this journal, while its volumes, now accumulated to a library, abound with evidences of its successful opposition to innumerable measures the fragmentary ruins of which lie strewed along the highway of our national history.

More than twenty years ago, the Evening Post began to plead for the doctrines of free trade when every Northern journal was either silent or openly advocating protective tariffs. The Evening Post was one of the earliest champions of State Rights against the encroachments of the Federal Government; it has resisted with unceasing effort that system of internal improvements which at one time threatened the budding enterprise of this country with the unequal and fatal competition of the General Government; it has opposed special legislation and all grants of special privileges, wherever and whenever its opposition seemed to be required; it labored with no ordinary devotion to rid the country of the national bank, and to establish in its stead the sub-treasury system, which now remains one of the most durable and conspicuous monuments of American statesmanship; it has steadfastly defended the right of petition; it resisted the passage of the last bankrupt law; it resisted the assumption of the State debts; and it has resisted every effort to extend the area of human slavery.

It began the discussion of most of these questions alone and single handed; it was compelled to continue their agitation, not only without the aid, but often in defiance of party organization. Three several times the Evening Post has been denounced from Tammany Hall, for the profession of opinions which were subsequently accepted as the indispensable faith of every Democrat who desired to remain in full communion with his party. Even now it is under the ban of the same organization, for its uncompromising resistance to the extension of slavery, though we confidently hope that the time is not far distant when this heresy, like those which have preceded it in the history of this journal, may be transfigured into the accepted policy of our party and of the nation.

Without anticipating the future, it is our present consolation to know that, whereas, only a few years since, the discussion of slavery was proscribed in all legislative bodies, now it is almost the only subject discussed in any of them; whereas slavery once was never to be mentioned, even in the Northern States, except to be defended or to extenuate its enormities, now no one can be found, either to defend or to excuse it, except those who must condemn themselves in condemning that whereby they live. It is not long since we were nearly alone in protesting against the acquisition of territory for the purpose of extending the area of slavery; now there are none so bold, in the Northern States at least, as to consent openly to its extension a single inch beyond its present limits.

However humble may have been our own agency in effecting these changes, it invigorates our confidence in the policy of this paper, to find that it has always corresponded with the final judgments of the nation, so far as they have yet been expressed, and proportionably diminishes our solicitude about the ultimate determination of questions which are yet under discussion before the people.

In this State, the Evening Post claims to have been one of the earliest advocates of the financial policy which has since been incorporated into the Constitution of 1846. It was almost the first and only journal for many months to advocate the call of a Convention to amend the old Constitution of 1821. It supported all the important reforms which the new Constitutions embody, and assisted in giving an impulse to the cause of constitutional reform, which has already been communicated to nearly every State in the Union.

The knowledge, that upon all these great questions of public policy about which the greatest diversities of opinion at different times prevailed upon many of which the waves and storms of public passion and prejudice beat with relentless violence for years, the course of this journal was ultimately sustained by the nation, justifies us in saying that history will vindicate the independent journalist, and ultimately indemnify him, as it has ourselves, for whatever sacrifices his course may subject him to.

We have not, therefore, any complaints to indulge in or sympathies to invoke. We desire to enlarge the capacities of our paper, not so much to increase its profits, as its power. We have unlimited faith in all the opinions we maintain, and we desire to have them universal; we are willing to make any effort or rational sacrifice to commend them to others; by adding to the attractiveness of our journal, we believe we can contribute more to that result than by directing our exertions into any other channel. It is to that end we propose to nearly double the size of our weekly sheet, and to make it not only a complete chronicle of the political history of our time, and an exponent of the growing public opinions of our country, but, by the variety and character of its miscellany, to adapt it to the tastes and interests of every age and sex, and to make it, to the best of our abilities a complete family newspaper.

Such being our design, and pledging, as we do, to its execution, an additional expenditure of several thousand dollars annually, we submit to our friends, and to those who have approved of the past history and present policy of the Evening Post, whether they cannot do something towards lightening the burden which we have assumed, and to facilitate the accomplishment of what we propose.

If each of the present subscribers of the Evening Post would send us one, only one, additional subscriber—and that could be done without an effort—we should have nothing more to desire. That would fully cover the outlay which we are about to incur, and encourage us to make other improvements in the character of our paper, which would perhaps as materially add to its interest and value as its projected enlargement. Is it too much to ask of those who have thought our paper worth its price, and who have satisfaction in perusing its contents, to bring it to the notice of their neighbors?

Members of Congress, and of the various State Legislatures, who desire to see the sentiments of this paper prevail, we hope will excuse us for suggesting that they may contribute materially to that result, and confer a substantial obligation upon us, by favoring us with lists of some of their respective constituencies.

We would be glad also to hear occasionally from our friends, by correspondence, in relation to matters of public interest occurring in their respective neighborhoods. Prompt and reliable accounts of the proceedings at Public Meetings, which would be but a trifling tax upon the time of the writer, would add greatly to the variety and interest of our columns. Suggestions as to the state of public opinion in different quarters, and the views there entertained upon the questions at the time engrossing public attention, might serve to lighten our labors, and direct us safely in the path which it is our ambition to pursue.

We have nothing to add to this long discourse about our own affairs, except the following statement of the terms upon which the several editions of this paper are now published, simply remarking that the Daily, Semi-Weekly, and Weekly editions are all issued upon the same sized sheet.

TERMS.

The price of the Evening Post, Daily, is per annum	$10
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PROSPECTUS FOR 1850.

THE NATIONAL ERA.

G. BAILEY, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR; JOHN G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

Washington, D. C.

THE NATIONAL ERA is an Anti-Slavery, Political, and Literary Newspaper.

A brief summary of the principles and measures we are prepared at all proper times to sustain, will serve to show the character and course of the *Era*.

We hold—

That Slavery is repugnant to Natural Right, the Law of Christianity, the Spirit of the Age, and the essential nature of our Republican Institutions:

That Emancipation, without compulsory expatriation, is a high duty, demanded alike by Justice and Expediency:

That there is but one safe and effectual mode of abolishing Slavery; and that is by law, to be enacted by the States in which it exists:

That Slavery can have no lawful being in Territory under the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States:

That Congress is bound to exclude it from all Territory now belonging or that may hereafter belong to the United States:

That the American Union, as the bond of Peace, the organ of one Language and one Civilization, the medium of Free Trade, among the numerous States and Territories stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific shores of this Continent; as the Refuge of suffering millions from the Old World, and a Safeguard against its Ambition and Intrigue, is of priceless value to the Cause of Human Progress; and that there is enough intelligence and virtue in its members to extinguish Slavery, the single cause that disturbs its harmonies, impairs its energies, alloys its good, and threatens its stability:

That the Federal Constitution ought to be so amended as to place the election of a President in the hands of the People, directly, and to limit his term of office to four years, making him thereafter ineligible; and to be still further amended so as to give to the People of the several States the election of their United States Senators, changing the term of office from six to four years:

That the Post Office Department ought to be separated from the Chief Executive, the Postmaster General and all the local Postmasters being elective by the People, and the power of removal for just and sufficient cause lodged in the hands of the Postmaster General:

That postage on all newspapers, of a certain size, for all distances, should be one cent; on all letters, under half an ounce, for all distances, two cents prepaid; that the franking privilege should be abolished; and negotiations be instituted for the purpose of securing free exchanges within reasonable limits, between the newspapers of Europe and the United States, and a reduction to the lowest point possible in the postage on letters passing between foreign countries and our own:

That the public lands shall be held as a trust for the benefit of the People of the United States, to be donated in limited quantities to actual settlers who are landless:

That the homestead ought to be exempt from sale or execution for debt:

That restrictions on commerce among the several States and between all nations, ought to be removed:

That Congress ought to make due appropriations for Improvements demanded by the interests of commerce with foreign nations, or among the States, provided they be not purely local in their benefits, and be not proper subjects for State or individual enterprise.

In maintaining our views, we shall fearlessly use the rights, while we respect the courtesies, of Free Discussion; conceding to those who may differ from us, what we claim for ourselves, the credit of honest motives.

Such reports of the proceedings of Congress will be given as will convey a correct idea not only of its action, but of its spirit and policy.

We have lately completed such arrangements for the Foreign Correspondence of the *Era*, as will make it at least equal in value and interest to that of any Journal in the country.

Ample provision has been made for its Literary Department.

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Having thus made ample arrangements for the General Departments of the Paper, we shall devote ourselves more particularly to Anti-Slavery and Political Discussions, taking care to keep our readers advised of all important reform movements and current events.

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GEORGE W. LIGHT,
Nov. 25. 3 Cornhill, Boston.

[CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE.]

You may slay the Wilmot Proviso in the Senate chamber, and bury it beneath the Capitol to-day; the dead corse, in complete steel, will haunt your legislative halls to-morrow.

When the strife is ended in the Territories you now possess, it will be renewed on new fields, North as well as South, to fortify advantages gained, or to retrieve losses incurred, for both of the parties well know that there is "Yet in that word Hereafter."

Senators have referred us to the promise of peace which heralded in the Missouri Compromise. Sir, that prophecy is but half its journey yet. The annexation of Texas, the invasion of Mexico, this prolonged struggle over California, this desperate contest for the snows and sands of New Mexico and Deseret, are all within the scope and limits of the prediction; and so are the strifes yet to come over ice-bound regions beyond the St. Lawrence and sun-burnt plains beneath the tropics.

But while this Compromise will fail of all its purposes, it will work out serious and lasting evils. All such compromises are changes of the Constitution, made in derogation of the Constitution. They render it uncertain in its meaning, and impair its vigor, as well as its sanctions. This Compromise finds the Senate in wide divergence from the House of Representatives, by reason of the undue multiplication of feeble, consumptive States, effected by former compromises of the same sort. You will increase that evil until the Congress of the United States will be unable to conduct the business of the country, by reason of a chronic disagreement between this and the popular branch; and the result will be the abolition of one branch or of the other; the abolition of either would probably be fatal to liberty.

This compromise is rendered doubly dangerous by the circumstance that it is a concession to alarms of disorganization and faction. Such concessions, once begun, follow each other with fearful rapidity, and always increasing magnitude. It is time, high time, that panics about the Union should cease; that it should be known and felt that the Constitution and the Union, within the limits of human security, are safe, firm, and perpetual. Settle what you can settle; confide in that old arbiter, Time, for his favoring aid in settling for the future what belongs to the future, and you will hereafter be relieved of two classes of patriots whose labors can well be spared—those who clamor for disunion, either to abolish slavery or to prevent emancipation, and those who surrender principles or sound policy to clamors so idle.

Sir, the agitations which alarm us are not signs of evils to come, but mild efforts of the Commonwealth for relief from mischiefs past.

There is a way, and one way only, to put them at rest. Let us go back to the ground where our forefathers stood. While we leave slavery to the care of the States where it exists, let us inflexibly direct the policy of the Federal Government to circumscribe its limits, and favor its ultimate extinguishment. Let those who have this misfortune entailed upon them, instead of contriving how to maintain an equilibrium that never had existence, consider carefully how, at some time—it may be ten, or twenty, or even fifty years hence—by some means, by all means of their own, and without our aid, without sudden change or violent action, they may bring about the emancipation of labor, and its restoration to its just dignity and power in the State. Let them take hope to themselves, give hope to the free States, awaken hope throughout the world. They will thus anticipate only what must happen at some time, and what they themselves must desire, if it can come safely, and as soon as it can come without danger. Let them do only this, and every cause of disagreement will cease immediately and forever. We shall then not merely endure each other, but we shall be reconciled together, and shall realize once more the concord which results from mutual league, united councils, and equal hopes and hazards, in the most sublime and beneficent enterprise the earth has witnessed. The fingers of the Powers above would tune the harmony of such a peace.

SPEECH OF MR. BINGHAM, OF MICHIGAN,

ON THE

ADMISSION CALIFORNIA,

DELIVERED

In the House of Representatives, June 4, 1850.

[CONCLUDED.]

Similar resolutions were soon after passed by the States of Virginia, Alabama, and Florida—one of which declared, "*that under no political necessity whatever*" would they support any man opposed to the extension of slavery. Mr. Buchanan, in his celebrated Berks county letter, had already yielded to the demands of the South. General Cass was known to have favored the two million bill, which passed the House with the Wilmot Proviso, and to have expressed his regret at its defeat by a protracted debate in the Senate. At the next session be contented himself with voting against the Proviso, on the ground of its being inappropriately applied to a war bill; but he wrote a private letter to one of his constituents, which afterwards found its way into the public prints, in which he declared that its passage would be "*death to the war, and death to the Democratic party.*" On the 31st of December, 1847, there appeared in the Union newspaper in this city, the celebrated "Nicholson Letter," in which he took ground against both the constitutionality and expediency of applying the provisions of the Ordinance to the bills for the government of the Territories. I mention this remarkable coincidence of dates, without the least intention of calling in question the sincerity of the distinguished Senator from Michigan, but for the purpose of corroborating his own statement, "That a great change had been going on in the public mind, his own as well as others." The Baltimore Convention met. The delegates from the free States submitted, without a murmur, to the degrading conditions imposed upon them by the South, and General Cass was nominated. The people of Michigan were dumb-founded with horror at the reception of the "Nicholson letter." General Cass had been sixteen years Governor of the Territory of Michigan. Yet notwithstanding the prosperity of the State was greatly indebted to the ineffaceable marks of the wisdom and foresight of his Administration, notwithstanding his great and well-deserved personal popularity, and the efforts of his friends, he was left by the people at the election in a minority of 3,642 of the popular vote; and with the single exception of the State of New Hampshire, he failed to obtain a majority of the votes of either of the free States; and at a time when every measure of the Democratic party was in full and successful operation, with an overflowing Treasury, and our country in a state of unexampled prosperity, we were beaten. Mr. Chairman, others may speculate as to the causes of that defeat; I have no hesitation in ascribing to that fatal "Nicholson Letter," the doctrines of which were received by the people with such perfect loathing, the loss of the North, while the slaveholders of the South preferred to vote for the owner of a sugar plantation, with three hundred negroes. This was a mortifying defeat; but it may well be borne, if it inculcates this useful lesson, that in this noon of the nineteenth century, when the down-trodden nations of Europe are bursting the fetters of tyranny, which have bound them to the earth for ages—when every breeze from across the Atlantic wafts with it the cry of liberty and the inalienable rights of man from the uprising masses—the Northern statesman, to be successful, must prove true to the interests of the free labor which he represents, instead of becoming an accessory to the cupidity of the Southern slaveholder, who would doom his fellow man to perpetual bondage.

At the same election in Michigan, three members of Congress were chosen, pledged to oppose the extension of slavery, and also a large majority of the members of the Legislature, who, upon assembling in January, reaffirmed the oft-expressed opinion of the people, that Congress had the constitutional power, and that it was their duty to execute it in the exclusion of slavery from the territories. Indeed, sir, I do not know of a public meeting, or of a convention, or a newspaper in the State, which has sustained the doctrines of that "letter." But, Mr. Chairman, it has been heralded by the *Union* newspaper, that the last Michigan Legislature has "repudiated the *Wilmot Proviso.*" Sir, they have done no such thing. They have, indeed, by a vote of 24 members out of 66—20 being *accidentally* absent—passed a series of resolutions: but did they *rescind* the oft-expressed deliberate judgment of the people of Michigan, that the Constitution conferred the power upon Congress to prohibit slavery in the territories? No, sir. On the contrary, the popular branch had the impudence to reassert the doctrine. Did they *rescind* the resolution that it was the solemn duty of Congress so to prohibit by express enactment? No, sir. Did they *rescind* the resolution that it was the duty of Congress to break up the infamous traffic in human beings in the city of Washington, and in sight of the flag that floats over the Capitol? No, sir, they did no such thing. They *dared* to do no such thing. But they did pass a set of resolutions of the following import: "Whereas the people of Michigan are opposed to the extension of slavery"—yes, sir, these are their very words, "opposed to the extension of slavery," therefore Resolved, That if our Senators are very anxious to relieve their Nashville Convention friends from the ridiculous dilemma in which they find themselves placed, or if they really believe "that the Union will be broken into fragments" unless slavery is allowed to cross the Rio Grande, they are permitted, "by voice and vote," to do as they please. They may vote for the omnibus bill; they may vote for a clause allowing the people themselves to settle the question of slavery, or they may vote for the clause prohibiting their action; they may vote for the Missouri Compromise line, or vote against it, as shall best subserve the wishes of the South, and thereby save the Union. The State of Michigan, in consideration of the extraordinary concession made by the distinguished Senator from Mississippi, in consenting to postpone the day for the dissolution of the Union, humbly presents this as her "peace offering." This Mr. Chairman, is the substance of the resolutions which the *Union*, in publishing, prefaced with the remark that "the language was as felicitous as the sentiments were praise-worthy." In the county of Lenawee, one of the most populous counties in the district represented by my honorable friend Mr. Buel, a Democratic Convention was held on the 13th of September, 1849, preceding the annual election, and on the 18th of April, 1850, another was held preceding the election of delegates to a Constitutional Convention. The resolutions passed at the two conventions of the same party were somewhat dissimilar, and I will read them:

"*Resolutions of the Lenawee county Democratic Convention, September 13th*, 1849.

"*Resolved*, That, in common with all the free States of the Union, we are opposed to the institution of slavery, believing it to be adverse to the great principles of human freedom, while we are willing to yield to the Southern States all their constitutional rights, and are opposed to any interference by Congress with the institution of slavery in the Southern States, where it now exists.

"*Resolved*, That we approve of the principles of the Jeffersonian Ordinance, proposed in 1784, and adopted in 1787, and believe that the unexampled prosperity of the Northwest is mainly owing to the beneficial influences of its principles.

"*Resolved*, That the act passed by Congress to organize the Territory of Oregon, in which is a clause to prohibit slavery or involuntary servitude except for crime in that Territory, acknowledged the power of Congress over the subject of slavery in the Territories of the United States.

"*Resolved*, That we are in favor of the exercise by the General Government of all their constitutional powers to prohibit the introduction of slavery into the Territories of the United States, and to prevent its extension into those Territories."

"*Resolutions of the Lenawee county Democratic Convention, April 18th*, 1850.

"*Resolved*, That the efforts of our distinguished Senator, General Lewis Cass, at the present session of Congress, to preserve the integrity and harmony of our glorious Union, guided by a wisdom and judgment and enforced by an eloquence rarely equalled, deserve the warmest thanks and acknowledgments of every Democrat and friend to his country, and are peculiarly gratifying to the Democracy of this county, who were the first to present his name as a candidate for the Presidency in 1843, in this State.

"*Resolved* That those Democrats in our Legislature who voted to tender their thanks to our Senators and Representatives in Congress for their efforts in behalf of the Union, and to relieve General Cass from the necessity of resigning at present, when his continued exertions might be most required to promote the nation's best interests, deserve our warmest approbation, and shall receive our continued support."

The comment which I wish to append to the introduction of these resolutions is the significant fact, that at the election after the passage of the first, the county gave its usual Democratic majority, and that the ticket which was nominated by the Convention which passed the last, was beaten by an average majority of 480 votes.

Mr. Chairman, this same Legislature of Michigan also unanimously passed resolutions in favor of the *immediate* and unconditional admission of the free State of California into the Union. For six months she has been knocking at the doors of Congress. The bill for admission has been retarded, and loaded down, and embarrassed, by the votes of Northern men. The California representatives would long ago have had their seats on this floor, and this new sister from the Pacific coast would have been welcomed among the constellation of States, if its *pretended* Northern friends had not been uniformly aiding by "their voices and votes," and coöperating with the avowed opponents of the measure. Sir, if a vote could have been obtained, no one doubts that California would long ago have been admitted, and no one, I think, need doubt the judgment of a discriminating people, in fixing the responsibility for staving off and preventing that vote in the proper quarter.

Mr. Chairman, aside from the denial of the constitutional power of Congress to govern the territories contained in the Nicholson letter, and which seems to have found but few supporters, either North or South, a power which the distinguished Senator has recently claimed for Congress, *outside* of the Constitution, and in relation to which he said, "certainly, it is the *moral duty* of any country holding distant possessions, to institute Governments for the preservation of social order, and *here, and here alone*, is the foundation of Government, as exercised by Congress"—there was one other position taken, from which I am bound to dissent. It is in these words: "The question that presents itself is not a question of the increase, but of the *diffusion* of slavery—whether its sphere be *stationary or progressive*, its amount will be the same. The rejection of this restriction will not add one to the class of servitude, nor will its adoption give freedom to a single being who is now placed therein; the same numbers will be spread over greater territory, and so far as compression with greater abundance of the necessaries of life is an evil, so far will that be mitigated by transporting slaves to a new country, and giving them a larger space to occupy." Now, sir, if I understand this proposition, it is an argument in favor of extending slavery into these new territories. If that be its intent and meaning, I can only say that it contrasts strongly with the views and opinions of Jefferson, who labored so ardently to *reclaim* the Northwest Territory from its encroachments, with a view to its final extinction. But will the "*diffusion*" of slavery not increase it? There has been added *in States* to this Confederacy since its formation, exclusive of the territories, a million of square miles. The population of whites has increased from three to twenty millions, and of slaves from half a million to three millions. Now, sir, does any man believe that this unexampled increase in population, whether of slave or free, if they had been confined to the original States, would have taken place? No, sir; this continual assertion of the right to carry their property into the new territories, is to gain new markets for the sale of slaves. The honorable gentleman from Virginia, [Mr. Meade,] in a recently published speech, says, "Virginia has a slave population of near half a million, whose value is chiefly dependent on Southern demand." The recent rise in cotton is said to have increased greatly the price and demand for negroes; and the *North Carolinian*, published at Fayetteville, says that the number passing through Wilmington for the Charleston market averages twenty-five a day! This inhuman and barbarous traffic, the contemplation of which elicited from Jefferson the exclamation that "he trembled for his country when he reflected that God was just, and that his justice would not sleep forever," and which Lord Brougham, in the British Parliament, characterized as "one of the most execrable crimes (for he would not designate it by the honorable name of traffic) that could disgrace a people, the being engaged in the sale of our fellow creatures"—is increased by the "*diffusion*" of slavery. And the same gentleman from Virginia, in view of the restriction, says:

"If we intend to submit to the policy of confining the slaves to the present limits, we should commence *forthwith* the work of gradual emancipation—it is an easier task for us than our children." The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. Hilliard] expressed the same opinion: "We must make up our minds either to resist the interdiction of the progress of slavery, or to submit to an organic change in our institutions." In these two short extracts the case is fairly stated: "perpetuation of slavery by "*diffusion*," or its "gradual emancipation" by confining it to its present limits.

Mr. Chairman, the Canada thistle is a noxious and troublesome plant to the agriculturists of the North; its introduction upon the farm of the careful husbandman is considered a great evil; every portion of the premises is watched with the utmost care against its insidious approach, and the first plant that is discovered is immediately uprooted. If you were to ask the proprietor of the soil which he would prefer, a few scattering plants on one corner of the farm, or a general "*diffusion*" over the whole estate, I think there would be little doubt as to the character of the answer.

It has also been said, Mr. Chairman, that because Congress had not the power to establish slavery by law, therefore, Congress had no power to legislate in relation to slavery. Sir, slavery was never established either by the law of nature, or by any other law. It is the creature of force and wrong; it was never *lawfully* introduced into any country—it found its way into every State of this Union by violence. I am corroborated in this statement by the honorable member from Tennessee, [Mr. Harris,] an extract from whose speech contains these words:

"A law creating slavery, is not to be found upon the statute books of a solitary State in this Union."

It is a matter of great indifference to the slaveholder whether he carries his slaves into the territories by law or not; the only thing he dreads is a law of Congress to prevent it. Congress can neither establish mail robbery or piracy by law, but it can pass laws to prevent and punish those offences.

Mr. Chairman, a leading Democratic paper in Michigan, the *Detroit Free Press*, in a recent article commenting upon the action of Congress upon the territorial measures, utters the following sentiment:

"The true plan, which ought to be adopted, would be the old Democratic one, for which we have always contended—that Congress should provide Governments for the territories, saying nothing in them about slavery, but leaving to the people interested the regulation of that matter for themselves."

Sir, it may be that this was intended for irony; but if it was not, I do not think I use too strong language, when I characterize it as a gross attempt to practice upon the credulity of its readers; and that they may be enabled to form a proper estimate of the truth of the statement, I will show them what the "*true plan*—the old Democratic plan for which we have always contended"—is. The first Congress that assembled after the adoption of the Constitution, on the 7th of August, 1789, passed an act confirming the Ordinance of 1787, and giving to it full force and validity. The purposes of this act clearly appear from the preamble, which is in these words:

"Whereas, in order that the Ordinance of the United States, in Congress assembled, for the Government of the territory northwest of the Ohio, *may continue to have full force and effect*, it is required that certain provisions should be made to adapt the same to the present Constitution of the United States—Be it enacted," &c.

This act received the constitutional approval of Washington. Many of those who participated in its enactment had been members of the Convention that framed the Constitution, and, therefore, may be supposed to have understood its true intent and meaning.

On the 7th of May, 1800, an act was passed for the organization of a territorial Government for Indiana, and *slavery expressly prohibited* therein.

This act was approved by John Adams.

January 11th, 1805, the Northern part of Indiana was erected into the Territory of Michigan, and *slavery prohibited*. February 3d, 1809, the Territory of Illinois was established, with the like *prohibition* as to *slavery*. These two latter acts received the approval and signature of Thomas Jefferson.

On the 20th of April, 1836, Wisconsin was organized as a Territory, and *slavery prohibited* within its limits. This act was approved by General Jackson.

The Territory of Iowa was established by act of Congress of the 12th of June, 1838, under the Administration of Mr. Van Buren; and here also was *slavery prohibited*.

On the 14th of August, 1848, the Territory of Oregon was organized, which contained the same provision in the memorable and time-honored words, "there shall be neither *slavery nor involuntary servitude* therein, except for the *punishment of crime*."

Here are a series of enactments, commencing with the Ordinance of 1787, which was confirmed by Congress in 1789, under the Administration of Washington, down through the Administrations of Adams, Jefferson, Jackson, Van Buren, and Polk, to the year 1848, when the last Territorial Government was organized, covering a period of more than half a century, in which this policy of restricting the spread of slavery was steadily pursued and enforced. The constitutionality of these enactments was not controverted at the time, nor has it ever since been called in question, until the Southern test was made, that "*under no political necessity whatever*," would they support a man in favor of the Ordinance.

Not content with providing that slavery should never exist in any territory which was free from it at the time of its organization, Congress has from time to time regulated and restricted it in those territories where it had actual existence.

By the 7th section of the act organizing a Territorial Government for Mississippi, passed in 1798, the importation of slaves into said Territory from any place without the United States was prohibited under severe penalties. This was ten years before Congress had the power, under the Constitution, to prohibit the importation of slaves into the States.

By the act of the 26th of March, 1804, that part of Louisiana south of the Territory of Mississippi was organized into a Territorial Government, by the name of Orleans. By this act, the importation into said Territory of slaves from abroad was prohibited, and also the importation of any slave from within the United States who should have been brought into the country since the 1st of May, 1798, or who should thereafter be brought into the United States. It further provided that no slave should be brought into said Territory, except by a citizen of the United States, who should remove there for actual settlement, and who should at the time be the *bona fide* owner of such slave; thus directly interdicting the domestic as well as the foreign slave trade in this Territory of Orleans. This act was approved by Jefferson.

On the 6th of March, 1820, an act was passed "to authorize the people of Missouri to form a Constitution and State Government, and for the admission of such State into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, *and to prohibit slavery in certain Territories.*"

By the 8th section of that act it was provided, "that in all that territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude, not included within the limits of the State contemplated by this act, *slavery and involuntary servitude*, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall be, and the same is hereby, *forever* prohibited."

This act, as also the Ordinance of 1787, actually abolished slavery—a thing we do not now propose to do. Slavery existed in parts of the Northwest Territory, and in Louisiana the law of slavery at the time of the cession from France covered the entire territory from the Gulf of Mexico to the parallel of the forty-ninth degree of north latitude, and west to the Rocky Mountains. The Missouri Compromise was in harmony with the settled policy of our Government. It restricted and narrowed the limits of slavery.

Thus, sir, commencing with the celebrated Ordinance of '87, down to the year 1848, this Government has exercised full and exclusive jurisdiction over the question of *slavery* in the Territories. And yet the people of Michigan are to be told that "the old Democratic plan" is, "to say nothing about slavery in the Territories." Sir, this specious pretext of leaving to the people of the Territories the regulation of that question, was never adopted. Sovereignty only appertains to *organized States*. It is that power which prescribes laws, and to which it is required to yield obedience. This power no more resides in a Territory, than it does in a county or township in the State of Michigan; the people in the smallest township might as well claim to make laws, as the people in a Territory. They are high prerogatives, which, in the case of a township, belong to the State; in the case of a Territory, they belong to the only sovereign, the United States. Nor, Mr. Chairman, was the remark of the distinguished Senator from Michigan, in his speech, in which he says, "all the Territories have been governed upon this general principle of Congressional jurisdiction, leaving to the *people* to be affected by them, the passage of laws suited to their condition," perfectly accurate. For *eighteen years* the people of the Territory of Michigan had neither a voice in the passage of laws, nor in the selection of the *persons* to administer them. For eight years out of the sixteen, of which the Senator himself was Governor, he, in conjunction with three judges, (all of them holding their places without the constitutional authority, as he now admits,) arbitrarily imposed upon that people a code of laws, which extended down to the "private relations of husband and wife, parent and child," and in which the people had not a word to say. Fortunately for them, it was a mild and beneficent code, suited to their wants and condition. Fortunately was it for them that this *new light*, of the power of Congress only to legislate in relation to *land* in the Territories, had not broken upon them. Mr. Chairman, having shown satisfactorily, I trust, that in proposing to exclude slavery from these new possessions acquired on our southwest border we are only walking in the footsteps of the patriots and statesmen have preceded us, why should we hesitate to act? Every Southern man voted to exclude slavery from the Northwest Territory. Why should we linger against guarding the Southwest from its intrusion? Is it because we are alarmed at the threats for the dissolution of the Union? Was it to propagate human slavery that this Union was formed? If Southern men should undertake to carry out their treasonable designs, what would be the record of their wrongs upon which they would ask the judgment of the world? "The people of the North refuse to acknowledge that 'slavery is a great blessing—a blessing to the master and a blessing to the slave'—and refuse to aid us in its extension; therefore we declare this Union to be dissolved." This would be the summary of their wrongs—for this would dissolve the Union. Sir, does it become Northern statesmen to stand here trembling in their shoes at these croakings and bullying threats of desperate bravadoes? Are we, the representatives of the great free North, so weak or so timid as to be frightened from our principles and our purposes, because treason is rife in the land? Shall we submit to slavery dictation? Shall we encourage them in their insolence, by publishing to the world our fears? No, sir; let the same spirit animate us which was so nobly expressed by General Cass two years ago, when our country was involved in a foreign war, and the patriotism of our people was invoked to raise men and the money to bring it to an honorable conclusion. Then he thus spoke:

"Mr. President, it gives me great pain to hear any allusions to the dissolution of this Confederacy, and of all the places in this Republic, this high place should be the last, in which they should be expressed. *The Constitution is in no danger.* It has survived many a shock, and it will survive many more. It is yet fresh in its strength. No infirmity has come to tell us that its dissolution is near. It is no longer an experiment, but experience—no longer a promise, but performance. It has fulfilled all, and more than all its most sanguine advocates dared predict. It is at this moment stronger in the affections of the American people, than at any other period of its existence. Like the cliff of eternal granite which overlooks the ocean, and drives back the ceaseless waves that assail its base, so will the Constitution resist the assaults that may be made upon it, come how or when or whence they may.

These were the eloquent, courageous words of a statesman, which found a ready response in the hearts of the people. They were uttered at a time when a strong party organization was opposed to the prosecution of the war. Now that the war is over, when nothing agitates the country but the simple question of organizing Governments for the acquired country, cannot the Constitution stand as rude a shock? And was not the same distinguished Senator frightened from his propriety, and does he not tamely surrender to the dictation of an insolent minority, when he writes for publication sentiments like the following?

"Whatever impressions may prevail elsewhere, I suppose there is no intelligent observer at the seat of Government who is not seriously disturbed at the present state of things. Whether the danger is greater or less, nearer or more remote, are questions about which men may differ; but I know no lover of his country who does not view the *crisis* as an *alarming* one, and does not see, in the signs of the times, the approach of one of those political convulsions which, if not averted by wise and timely measures, may be fatal to us, and to the cause of freedom throughout the world.

"The Union is in danger! The first step towards safety is, to believe that the danger exists; and when the watchman asks, 'What of the night?' he who does not sound the alarm, is neither true to his own duty, nor to the interests of those who have committed a part of the fortress of their liberty to his keeping."—*February* 13, 1850.

Sir, in the days of Andrew Jackson this Union was *really* in danger. Then a sovereign State threatened to nullify the laws, and prepared to carry that threat into execution. But the brave old soldier, who had met the enemies of his country, and saved the beauty and booty of New Orleans, nothing daunted, issued his mandate: "*The Union—it must, and it* SHALL *be preserved!*" Those memorable words produced a talismanic effect; and the disturbers of the peace—the agitators, the nullifiers, *quailed* before the flash of his undaunted eye, and his imperious will. These same agitators—these same nullifiers—threaten the peace of the Union now. Shall we tamely surrender? Shall a slaveholding minority always control the destinies of this Republic? Shall that cursed institution be permitted to march on, like a resistless current, across the continent? Do they not already possess much the larger and better portion of the soil of these States? The treasures of *freemen* were freely given to acquire this new territory—why should it not remain the abode of freemen? The blood of *freemen* was freely poured out to enrich its soil—why should it be polluted with the sweat of the slave?

Mr. Chairman, the Union is in no danger. The will of the majority must be obeyed; the free soil of the country must be preserved as the inheritance of the free laborer and his children. If their Representatives are faithless to the trusts confided to them, the people must rally in their might, and assert their rights and their true dignity. California—the free State of California—must be admitted; and if all other leaders desert us, the intrepid BENTON is hers—the same who grappled with, and triumphed over, the monster United States Bank; the same who so perseveringly guarded the fame of Andrew Jackson, and carried the "expunging" resolutions; the same who labored so zealously to give the people a sound specie currency, by the passage of the gold bill; the same who has always fearlessly denounced nullification, whenever it has shown its demon head, as he does now, in the following extract:

"The time has gone by for holyday *professions* in favor of the Union—the time has come for works. The condition of the country requires new tests for the Democratic party. Repudiation of the Nashville Convention—repudiation of nullification and disunion, as remedies for political evils—submission to the laws of the land until repealed by the people or invalidated by the Judiciary. These are the tests which the times require, and no communion with any one who will not adopt them and work up to them."

Mr. Chairman, a brighter day will soon dawn upon us. This deep-seated hostility, this desperate opposition to the admission of the free State of California, is one of the dying throes of the slave power. It has controlled the destiny of this country. It has dispensed its patronage. It has grasped the Executive, Judicial, and Diplomatic functions of this Government. Our Northern politicians have bowed down before its shrine and worshipped; and it has moulded them like clay in the hands of the potter. But its dream of a great slave mart on the shores of the Pacific will never be realized—henceforth it is shorn of its power. The fiat of the people has gone forth. "No new slave territory, no new slave States," is the popular cry; and he lingers far behind the progressive spirit of the age who doubts its literal fulfilment. Henceforth, as in California, new countries are to be seized and controlled by free labor, and its dignity will be asserted. Let us hope that slavery, the only stigma upon our great Republic, the living libel upon the Declaration of Independence, will gradually disappear, and that the day will soon come when the buying and selling of human beings will be known only like religious intolerance, or the burning of witches, or the African slave trade—among the things which an enlightened age condemns.

Mr. Chairman, I have spoken frankly and earnestly the promptings of my judgment and my heart. If, upon this momentous question, it is my fortune to differ with others, I have no disposition to question the purity of their motives or the sincerity of their patriotism. Coming, as I do, from the laboring classes, I should have failed to discharge my whole duty if I had not spoken and acted, when I thought their interests in jeopardy. As the Representative of free white laboring men, I mean to defend their rights. I have no desire for political preferment. I have no ambition for fame. I shall be content if I leave no stain upon my memory; and if hereafter my descendants should, perchance, refer to the records of these proceedings, I trust it will inspire them with an honest pride, to be able to say, "*He opposed the extension of slavery.*"

FROM MAINE.

BANGOR, *July* 1, 1850.

To the Editor of the National Era:

It will doubtless be acceptable to your readers to know something as to the state and prospects of Free Soil in this Down-East State. Our State Convention has just come off. The busy season of the year did not prevent a full attendance from all sections of the State, except the remote and belated Aroostook. Every other county was ably represented. The session was at the beautiful village of Waterville.

The Convention attracted much interest from all parties, as its action was expected to have an influence on the all-exciting question of the election of United States Senator, now pending before the Legislature. The division in the Democratic party, which cuts off from Mr. Hamlin about one-third of the votes of his party, threw into the hands of the Free Soil members of that body—ten in the House and five in the Senate—the balance of power. Mr. Hamlin, by his course on the Free Territory question, had endeared himself to our party; and a feeling was extensively prevalent, that our friends should at once go in and secure his election. Had the question depended only in relation to him personally, all would have taken that view. Had it come to the vote without the signs and signals which preceded it, every Free Soil vote would have been given for his reëlection.

But it was Mr. Hamlin's misfortune that Governor Hubbard was the chosen candidate of the Free Soil section of his party. His non-action message; his denominating "the agitation" of a certain question "unnecessary" at this time, and "pernicious;" the disposition of all the papers of that section of the party to endorse that doctrine, and a statement that Mr. Hamlin himself had endorsed it; the delay and vacillation to pass resolutions reaffirmative of the instructions of 1849; the backing and filling; the voting down and then voting up on these matters; and, above all, the suspicious presence, at such a time, of Senator Bradbury, from his post at Washington, using every influence and every art to obtain from the Legislature of this State what General Cass obtained from that of Michigan, raised such a doubt in the mind of our friends in the Legislature, that no appliances or urgency from within or without the Legislature could satisfy them that they were at liberty to vote for a man whose fortunes and hopes are inseparable from his party. They wanted to see where the party was going before they could feel certain as to his course. Were the resolutions to be passed? Or, were those of 1849 to be rescinded or Michigandered? The resolutions hung mid-air. They had been once, in form, voted down; but promises were lavished. It would not answer. It was not until after seven ballotings in the House, that, hopeless of a compromise with the Hunkers, the resolutions were passed through that body.

The excitement had reached a high pitch, and even that vote gave little additional strength to Mr. Hamlin. What he gained on one side he lost on the other; whereas, had the resolutions been put through in the first instance, and before a ballot, Mr. Hamlin would have had a majority at the first ballot.

In the Senate, the ground was firmer. One of the Free-Soilers went over to Hamlin at the first ballot, giving him thirteen votes of the sixteen necessary to a choice. The other four Free-Soilers stood immovable. They are men who act from a high sense of duty, and look not to the question as one of the hour, or of *one* principle alone. They look not upon it as bearing upon an *individual*, but upon a *position to be sustained;* and that position is sustained by a vote for Gen. Fessenden, no less than by a vote for Hamlin himself. It is more: it invites Mr. Hamlin to take yet higher ground—to oppose additions to slave territory, to oppose any more slave States; to wage battle against the slave trade and slavery in the District. Yet is Mr. Hamlin sure of their votes, and the votes of many of the Whigs, should the question be between him and any other man of his party in the State, or between him and George Evans.

Such was the state of the question when the Convention met. Expectation was on tiptoe. But, most wisely, the Convention took no action upon the subject; attended to its appropriate work of organizing for the approaching canvass, leaving the members of the Legislature to act according to their convictions of duty. They are men worthy to be trusted; whether they act together or not, all are satisfied that they act honestly and conscientiously.

Our excellent candidate for Governor of last year, George F. Talbot, Esq, of East Machias, was renominated. He addressed the Convention several times, and with marked ability. His views of the Constitution, and its relation to slavery, were presented with great clearness and force.

General Fessenden presided with his usual dignity and ability. I always love to see him in the chair. He is at home there, and sets every one at his ease. I expect to see him yet in the Senate of the United States. All admit his peculiar fitness for the office; all are ready to acknowledge that he has no superior for the office in Maine. If we are true to ourselves, he will be our next Senator; and that without injustice to Mr. Hamlin, unless Mr. Hamlin has the courage to appeal to the people against the trading politicians, who have always hated him. Hamlin is strong with the middle interest men of all parties in this State. Had he appealed to them one year ago, his cause and that of Free Soil in this State, which would then have been identical, would have been fifty per cent. better. He hesitated. His party balked upon Dr. Hubbard. It was a treachery which gave the enemies of Hamlin an advantage. What is wanting now is courage on his part, and that of his friends, to cast off the trader. I fear they have not the courage. Hitherto they have sought to buy peace, and to unite to theirs the votes of their worst enemies, by compromise, and yielding up the best offices in the State. While that course is continued, Hamlin and his supporters will continue to slide down. It is the courageous that win. W.

JOHN W. NORTH,

ATTORNEY and Counsellor at Law, and General Land Agent, Falls of St. Anthony, Minnesota Territory.
Oct. 11.—y

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With a view to encourage the introduction of these matchless Teas, it is the intention of the proprietors to distribute by lot, among the purchasers, a quantity of Teas equal to the *FIRST YEAR'S PROFITS* on the sales effected. Each purchaser will receive, enclosed in the package, a numbered certificate, entitling him to one chance in the Distribution!

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20	do.	25	do.	do.	do.	500	500
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250	do.	1	do.	do.	do.	250	250
425	Prizes in all.					2,000	2,000

Those persons who prefer lower-priced Teas can receive their prizes in proportion, or they will be re purchased for cash, at a reduction of 10 per cent.

☞ Country Agents required. Applications to be addressed, post paid, to the Company's Depot, as above.
June 6—3m

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Boston, 1850. June 6—3m

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June 6. G. W. LIGHT & CO.

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THE EDINBURGH REVIEW,
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In these periodicals are contained the views, moderately though firmly expressed, of the three great parties in England—Tory, Whig, and Radical. "Blackwood" and the "London Quarterly" are Tory, the "Edinburgh Review" Whig, and the "Westminster Review" Liberal. The "North British Review" owes its establishment to the last great ecclesiastical movement in Scotland, and is not ultra in its views on any one of the grand departments of human knowledge; it was originally edited by Dr. Chalmers, and now, since his death, is conducted by his son-in-law, Dr. Hanna, associated with Sir David Brewster. Its literary character is of the very highest order.

The "Westminster," though *reprinted* under that title only, is published in England under the title of the "Foreign Quarterly and Westminster," it being in fact a union of the two Reviews formerly published and reprinted under separate titles. It has therefore the advantage, by this combination, of uniting in one work the best features of both, as heretofore issued.

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Dec. 6. SAMUEL M. JANNEY, Principal.

HAMILTON COLLEGE.

THE Commencement at Hamilton College, Clinton, New York, will take place on Wednesday, July 24th. During the week the usual addresses will be delivered before the Society of Christian Research, by Rev. Albert Barnes, of Philadelphia; before the Alumni, by Hon. William J. Bacon, of Utica, of the class of 1822; before the Literary Societies, by Hon Henry B. Stanton, of Seneca Falls, and a Poem by Alfred B Street, of Albany.

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Jan. 31—1y

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Oct. 25—tf

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Nov. 15—tf

LARD FOR OIL.

LARD WANTED.—Cash paid for corn, mast, and slop-fed Lard. Apply to
THOMAS EMERY, Lard Oil Manufacturer,
Jan. 20. 33 Water street, near Walnut, Cincinnati, O.

SANDS' SARSAPARILLA,

In Quart Bottles.

FOR purifying the blood, and for the cure of *Scrofula, Rheumatism, Stubborn Ulcers, Dyspepsia, Salt Rheum, Fever Sores, Erysipelas, Pimples, Biles, Mercurial Diseases, Cutaneous Eruptions, Liver Complaint, Bronchitis, Consumption, Female Complaints, Loss of Appetite, General Debility, &c.*

THE RECORDS OF MEDICAL SCIENCE,

abounding as they do with ample testimonials to the value and efficacy of different medicinal agents scarcely furnish a parallel with the results recorded from a multitude of living witnesses to the great worth of *SANDS' SARSAPARILLA*. The remarkable cures of a great variety of diseases, effected by its timely administration, furnish conclusive evidence of this fact, and the experience of fourteen years has won for it a deserved popularity that no other preparation ever attained. Its extensive use throughout the world, and the numerous unsolicited testimonials received by the proprietors, stand as beacons and landmarks to the suffering and diseased, holding forth the inviting language of encouragement—do not despair. Thousands and tens of thousands who suffered without hope, groaning day and night under pain and anguish, beyond the power of language to convey, have not only been relieved, but permanently cured. It has been approved by the medical faculty, introduced and extensively used in hospitals, under the watchful eye of physicians, with the happiest results. The preparation being entirely vegetable, renders its administration safe to the most enfeebled frame.

The following testimonials are selected from among the multitude of those we are daily receiving; and for further confirmation, the reader is referred to the Family Receipe and Medical Almanac, furnished gratuitously by all our agents:

New York, July 27, 1849.

GENTLEMEN: Words can but feebly express my feeling in conveying the pleasing intelligence that my wife is restored to perfect health by the use of your invaluable Sarsaparilla She was afflicted with a severe cutaneous disease, that covered the whole surface of the body, so that it would have been impossible to touch any part that was free from the humor; the head, face, and hands, were covered with scales like those of a fish; the hair fell out in large quantities; and walking caused the most excruciating agonies as it affected the joints more than any other part. She suffered also a long time from an affection of the liver, connected with general debility, and a prostration of the nervous system. Physicians, both in Europe and America, had exhausted the usual remedies, without effecting a cure, or scarcely affording relief; and the best medical skill was unavailing, until she happily used your Sarsaparilla. The disease was pronounced salt rheum, but her whole system, internally and externally, was altogether deranged; but so complete has been the cure, after using the Sarsaparilla for six weeks, and taking in all less than one dozen bottles, that she now enjoys better health than for years previous to taking the Sarsaparilla.

My object in making this communication is, that all who have suffered as she has may know where and to whom to apply for relief, (and that not in vain,) as a complete cure will be the result.

My wife unites with me in heartfelt thanks; and believe me, gentlemen, yours, sincerely,
FERRIER NAZER, 82 *Nassau st.*
Messrs. A. B & D. Sands.

N. B. For a corroboration of these facts, apply to Mr. H. McCune, at Messrs. Bowen & McNamee's store, 16 William street.

City and County of New York, ss.

Ferrier Nazer, being duly sworn, doth depose and say that the foregoing statement, to which he has subscribed his name is true and accurate, to the best of his knowledge and belief.

Sworn and subscribed, this 27th day of July, 1849, before me, C. S WOODHULL, *Mayor.*

New Durham, N. J, June 30, 1849.

GENTLEMEN: My wife suffered with a distress and burning in her chest for many years, and my daughter was afflicted from her birth with a humor in her blood. We consulted various physicians and tried numerous remedies without much benefit, until we heard, through Rev. Thomas Davis, of the great medicinal value of Sands' Sarsaparilla. On his recommendation, my wife and daughter decided on trying it, and soon experienced permanent benefit. My daughter's skin assumed a new appearance entirely; from being rough, hard, and scaly, it became smooth and soft. My wife's sufferings are almost gone, and its use a short time longer, it is my firm belief, will produce a perfect cure.
Yours, with respect, G. S. HENDRICKSON,
Pastor of the Baptist Church at the
Messrs. SANDS. *English Neighborhood.*

Bardstown, Ky., July 10, 1849.

GENTLEMEN: It is my duty to communicate facts in relation to the beneficial effects of your Sarsaparilla My wife was afflicted with inflammation and soreness of the stomach of the worst character; her limbs and chest were much swollen; she had constant headache, and last spring was attacked severely with inflammatory rheumatism. The best medical aid we could obtain afforded only momentary relief; and while in this situation, she heard of the many remarkable cures effected by the use of Sands' Sarsaparilla, and commenced its use, which produced instant relief, and less than six bottles entirely removed all the dropsical swelling and other inflammatory symptoms, restoring her to perfect health.

I send this statement as an act of justice, believing it to be my duty to encourage the suffering portion of the human family to use Sands' Sarsaparilla, which I believe has no parallel in the catalogue of medicine.

With feelings of lasting gratitude, I remain your friend,
SAMUEL P. HARGER.
Messrs. Sands.

Boston, Mass., August 31, 1849.

GENTLEMEN: Last spring I was attacked with rheumatism in the lower part of my body, extending down to my feet; and so severely was I affected that I could not stand or move myself. I tried all the different medicines advertised for this disease, among which were several kinds of Sarsaparilla, but none of them did me any good, and I gave up all hope of being cured, when a friend advised me to try Sands' Sarsaparilla. I consented, not expecting it would cure me; but after using twelve bottles I have the happiness of stating to you that the pain has left me. I can walk without any assistance, and I am gaining in strength every day, which I have no doubt is owing entirely to the use of your Sarsaparilla. I send you this voluntary certificate, that the afflicted may know what medicine to use to alleviate their sufferings and effect a cure.
Yours, very truly, JOHN BANVARD,
31 *Chambers st.*
Messrs. A. B. & D. Sands.

Maracaibo, Venezuela, April 12, 1849.

GENTLEMEN: I consider it a duty due the public to make known the great benefit I have received from using your valuable Sarsaparilla. About three years since I was attacked with rheumatism in my shoulders, and also in my legs; and so severe was the pain, that I was unable to sleep. I tried all of the best medicines I could hear of, without receiving any benefit, until through the advice of a friend I procured some of your Sarsaparilla; and after using four bottles, in the course of fifteen days, I found myself entirely well. I have no hesitation in saying your Sarsaparilla is the best medicine I ever took, and can confidently recommend it to my friends and the public.
Your obedient servant, J. M. JESURUN.
Messrs. Sands.

Prepared and sold, wholesale and retail, by *A. B. & D. SANDS*, Druggists and Chemists, 100 Fulton street, corner of William, New York. Sold also by—
Charles Stott & Co. and R. S. Patterson, Washington, D. C.
Canby & Bartlett, Baltimore. F. Brown, Philadelphia.
George Dexter, Albany. Chs. Hienstreet, Troy.
Seth W. Fowle, Boston. E. B. Hinman, Cincinnati.
J. B. Wilder & Co., Louisville. May 2—eo3m

PARKEVILLE HYDROPATHIC INSTITUTE.

AT a meeting of the Board of Managers of the Parkeville Hydropathic Institute, held Fifth month 15th, 1850, Joseph A. Weder, M. D., was unanimously elected *Resident Physician*, in the place of Dr. Dexter, resigned.

Having made various improvements, this Institute is now prepared to receive an additional number of patients; and from Dr. Weder's well-known skill and *practical experience* in Europe, (acquired under Vincenz Priessnitz, the founder of the Hydropathic system,) and for several years past *in this country*, and particularly in the city of Philadelphia, (where he has had many patients,) the Managers believe the afflicted will find him an able and an attentive physician.

The domestic department being under the charge of a Steward and Matron, will enable the Doctor to devote to the patients whatever time may be necessary.

Application for admission to be made to
SAMUEL WEBB, *Secretary.*
Office No. 58 South Fourth street, residence No. 16 Logan square, Philadelphia.

General Description of the Parkeville Hydropathic Institute.

The main building is three stories high, standing back from the street about one hundred feet, with a semicircular grass plot in front, and contains thirty to forty rooms. The grounds around the house are tastefully laid out with walks and planted with trees, shrubs, &c. On the left of the entrance to these grounds is a cottage containing four rooms, used by male patients as a bathing house, with every convenience for "packing," bathing, &c.; on the right of the entrance, about two hundred feet distant, stands a similar cottage, used by the ladies for similar purposes.

In the rear of the Institute, at the distance of one hundred feet, are three other cottages, some eighty feet apart. One of these is the laundry, with a hydrant at the door; the other two are occupied by the servants.

The hydrant water is introduced into these cottages as well as into the main building, and all the waste water carried off by drains under ground.

THE WATER WORKS

Consist of a circular stone building, standing on the brow of a hill, surmounted by a large cedar reservoir containing five hundred barrels, brought from a never-failing spring of pure cold water in the side of the hill, by "a hydraulic ram," a self-acting machine of cast iron, that is kept constantly going, night and day, by the descent of the water from the spring. The surplus water is carried from the reservoir to a fountain in the water-works yard surrounded by weeping willows. In the first story of the water works is a circular room, containing the douche bath, which is a stream falling from a height of about thirty feet, and can be varied in size from half an inch to an inch and a half in diameter Adjoining the douche room is a dressing room, with marble tables, &c.; the *rising douche* (for the cure of piles, &c.) is one of the most complete contrivances of the kind, being entirely under the control of the patient using the same.

There are many other appliances, which can be better understood by a personal examination. May 30.

GLEN HAVEN WATER CURE.

THIS Establishment, having been completely refitted this winter, is now ready for the reception of visiters. It is beautifully situated among the hills at the head of Skaneateles lake, is supplied with the purest of water, and ample in quantity.

It is easy of access. Persons from New York, Boston, Albany, or Buffalo, can be brought by railroad, and steamboat on Skaneateles lake, to the *CURE*, and from the southern part of the State can reach it by the Binghamton and Glen Haven stage. Persons wishing to bring horses and carriages can have them kept in our stables, which are new and commodious, and the guests in our Cure will receive every attention. JACKSON, GLEASON, & CO.
Glen Haven, Scott, Cortland Co., N. Y., April, 1850.
April 25—3m

CLEVELAND WATER CURE ESTABLISHMENT.

THE above Establishment, having been put in fine order, is now commencing its third season. The success which has attended it thus far gives bright hopes for the future, and enables the subscriber to say with confidence, to all who wish to make a practical application of the Hydropathic or Water Cure treatment, that they can pursue it here under the most favorable auspices for the removal of disease. The location, although in the immediate vicinity of one of the most beautiful cities in the Union, is still very retired. A fine bowling saloon was erected the past season, to which patients can have access for exercise and amusement. All patients will be required to furnish three comforters, two large woollen blankets, two coarse cotton sheets, one coarse linen sheet, and six towels.

The price for board, medical advice, and all ordinary attendance of nurses, is $8 per week, payable weekly. Persons in indigent circumstances, and coming well recommended, will in some cases be taken at reduced prices, provided they are willing to take second-rate rooms.

All communications must be post paid
T. T. SEELYE, M. D., Proprietor.
Cleveland, May, 1850.—May 30—2m

G. W. SEATON,

ATTORNEY *and Counsellor at Law, and Solicitor in Chancery*, will give prompt attention to all business intrusted to his care in this and the adjoining counties.
Youngstown, Mahoning Co., O. May 9—1y

ENGLISH FREE LABOR PRINTS.

A LARGE assortment, just received by *GEORGE W. TAYLOR*, northwest corner of Fifth and Cherry streets, *Philadelphia*.

N. B. This establishment is devoted to the products of compensated labor, and a large variety of Dry Goods and Groceries are here provided for those who really wish to be non-slaveholders. 6th mo. 12th—1mo.

WHEELAN & WOOD,

WHOLESALE *and Retail Boot and Shoe Manufacturers*, sign of the *BIG RED BOOT*, No. 39 Lower Market, south side, two doors west of Sycamore street, Cincinnati—Dealers in *Boots, Shoes, Palm Leaf Hats*, &c.
J. P. WHELAN.
May 23—1y A. WOOD.

THE FRIEND OF YOUTH.

THIS new and attractive journal for Youth, edited by Mrs. Bailey, and published at Washington, can be had at the *Boston Agency for the National Era*, 3 Cornhill. Price, by mail, 50 cents a year; delivered in Boston, free of postage, 75 cents. GEORGE W. LIGHT,
Nov. 25. 3 Cornhill Boston.

OLD DOCTOR JACOB TOWNSEND,

THE ORIGINAL DISCOVERER OF

THE GENUINE TOWNSEND SARSAPARILLA.

OLD Dr. Townsend is now about seventy years of age, and has long been known as the Author and Discoverer of the genuine original "*Townsend Sarsaparilla*" Being poor, he was compelled to limit its manufacture, by which means it has been kept out of market, and the sales circumscribed to those only who had proved its worth and known its value. It had reached the ears of many, nevertheless, as those persons who had been healed of sore diseases, and saved from death, proclaimed its excellence and wonderful healing power. This

Grand and Unequalled Preparation

is manufactured on the largest scale, and is called for throughout the length and breadth of the land.

Unlike young S. P. Townsend's, it improves with age, and never changes, but for the better; because it is prepared on scientific principles, by a scientific man. The highest knowledge of Chemistry, and the latest discoveries of the Art, have all been brought into requisition in the manufacture of the Old *Doctor's Sarsaparilla.* The Sarsaparilla root, it is well known to medical men, contains many medicinal properties, and some properties which are inert or useless; and others, which, if retained in preparing it for use, produce fermentation and *acid*, which is injurious to the system. Some of the properties of Sarsaparilla are so volatile, that they entirely evaporate and are lost in the preparation, if they are not preserved by a scientific process, known only to those experienced in its manufacture. Moreover, these volatile principles, which fly off in vapor, or as an exhalation under heat, are the very essential medical properties of the root, which give to it all its value. The

Genuine Old Dr. Jacob Townsend's Sarsaparilla

is so prepared, that all the inert properties of the Sarsaparilla root are first removed, everything capable of becoming acid or of fermentation is extracted and rejected; then every particle of medical virtue is secured in a pure and concentrated form, and thus it is rendered incapable of losing any of its valuable and healing properties. Prepared in this way, it is made the most powerful agent in the

Cure of Innumerable Diseases.

Hence the reason why we hear commendations on every side in its favor, by men, women, and children. We find it doing wonders in the cure of *Consumption, Dyspepsia,* and *Liver Complaint*, and in *Rheumatism, Scrofula,* and *Piles, Costiveness*, all *Cutaneous Eruptions, Pimples, Blotches,* and all affections arising from

Impurity of the Blood.

It possesses a marvellous efficacy in all complaints arising from indigestion, from acidity of the stomach, from unequal circulation, determination of blood to the head, palpitation of the heart, cold feet and cold hands, cold chills and hot flashes over the body. It has not had its equal in coughs and colds, and promotes easy expectoration and gentle perspiration, relaxing stricture of the lungs, throat, and every other part.

But in nothing is its excellence more manifestly seen and acknowledged than in all kinds and stages of

Female Complaints.

It works wonders in cases of *fluor albus* or whites, falling of the womb, obstructed, suppressed, or painful menses, irregularity of the menstrual periods, and the like; and is effectual in curing all forms of the kidney disease.

By removing obstructions, and regulating the general system, it gives tone and strength to the whole body, and cures all forms of

Nervous Diseases and Debility,

and thus prevents or relieves a great variety of other diseases, as spinal irritation, neuralgia, St. Vitus dance, swooning, epileptic fits, convulsions, &c.

Is not this, then,

The Medicine you Pre-eminently Need?

But can any of these things be said of S P. Townsend's inferior article? This young man's liquid is not to be

Compared with the Old Dr.'s,

because of one *Grand Fact*, that the one is *Incapable of Deterioration* and

Never Spoils,

while the other does; it sours, ferments, and blows the bottles containing it into fragments; the sour, acid liquid exploding and damaging other goods! Must not this horrible compound be poisonous to the system? What! put acid into a system already diseased with acid! What causes dyspepsia but acid? Do we not all know, that when food sours in our stomachs, what mischief it produces!—flatulence, heartburn, palpitation of the heart, liver complaint diarrhœa, dysentery, colic, and corruption of the blood? What is scrofula but an acid humor in the body? What produces all the humors which bring on eruptions of the skin, scald head, salt rheum, erysipelas, white swelling, fever-sores, and all ulcerations, internal and external? it is nothing under heaven but an acid substance, which sours and thus spoils all the fluids of the body, more or less. What causes rheumatism, but a sour, acid fluid, which insinuates itself between the joints and elsewhere, irritating and inflaming the tender and delicate tissues upon which it acts? So of nervous diseases, of impurity of the blood, of deranged circulations, and nearly all the ailments which afflict human nature.

Now, is it not horrible to make and sell, and infinitely worse to use, this

Souring, Fermenting, Acid "Compound" of S P. Townsend!

and yet he would fain have it understood that Old Dr. Jacob Townsend's *Genuine Original Sarsaparilla* is an *Imitation* of his inferior preparation!!

Heaven forbid that we should deal in an article which would bear the most distant resemblance to S. P. Townsend's article' and which should bring down upon the Old Dr. such a mountain load of complaints and criminations from Agents who have sold, and purchasers who have used S. P. Townsend's *Fermenting Compound.*

We wish it understood, because it is the *absolute truth*, that S. P. Townsend's article and Old Dr. Jacob Townsend's Sarsaparilla are heaven wide apart, and infinitely dissimilar; that they are unlike in every particular, having not one single thing in common.

As S. P. Townsend is no doctor, and never was, is no chemist, no pharmaceutist—knows no more of medicine or disease than any other common, unscientific, unprofessional man—what guarantee can the public have that they are receiving a genuine scientific medicine, containing all the virtues of the articles used in preparing it, and which are incapable of changes which might render them the *agents* of *disease*, instead of health?

It is to arrest frauds upon the unfortunate, to pour balm into wounded humanity, to kindle hope in the despairing bosom, to restore health and bloom and vigor into the crushed and broken, and to banish infirmity—that OLD DR. JACOB TOWNSEND has *sought* and *found* the opportunity and means to bring his

Grand, Universal, Concentrated Remedy,

within the reach, and to the knowledge, of all who need it, that they may learn and know, by joyful experience, its

Transcendent Power to Heal!

☞ For sale in Washington City by—
J. F. Callan Z. D. & W. H. Gilman
S. Butt M. Delany
May 9. Ridgely & Co.